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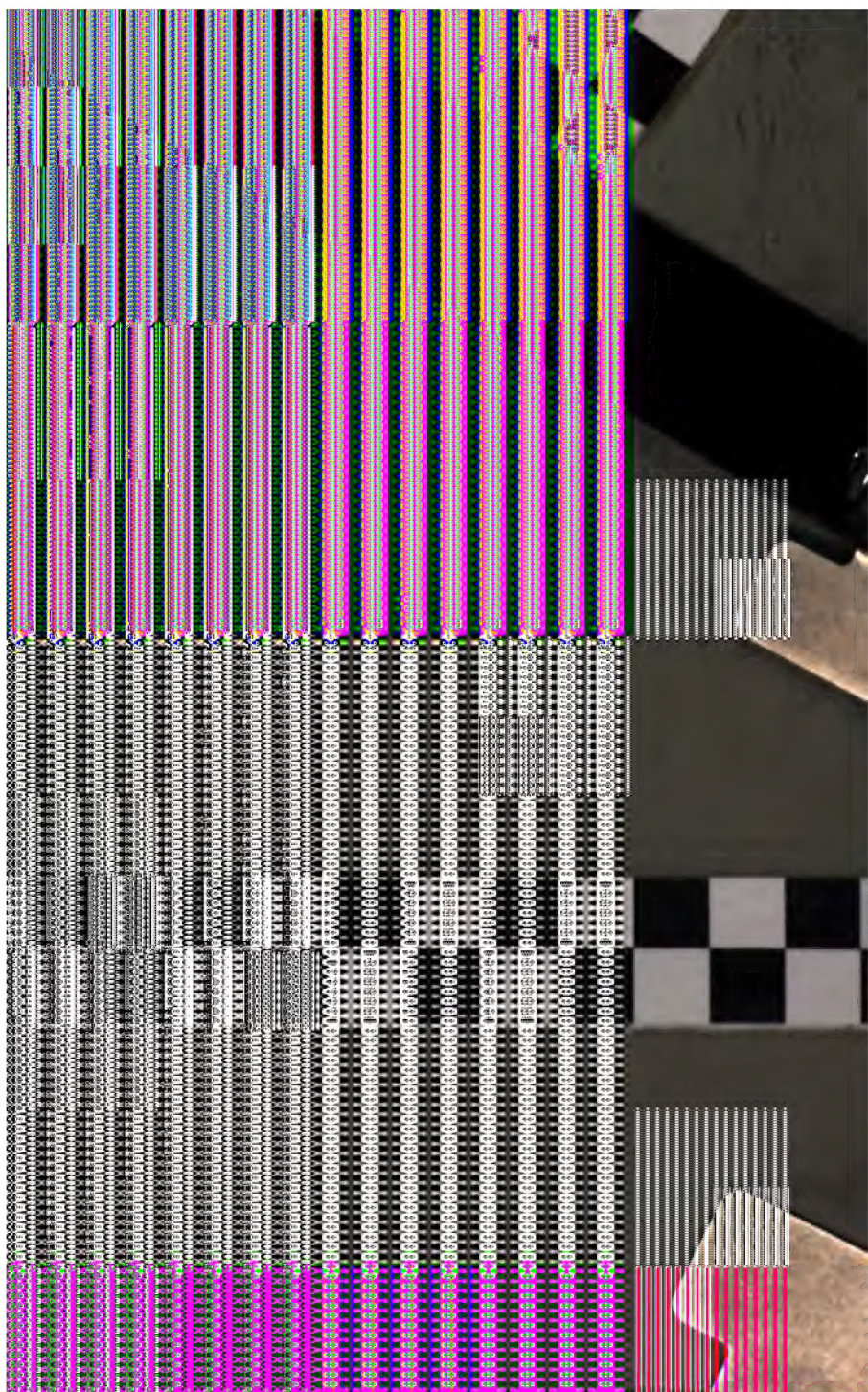
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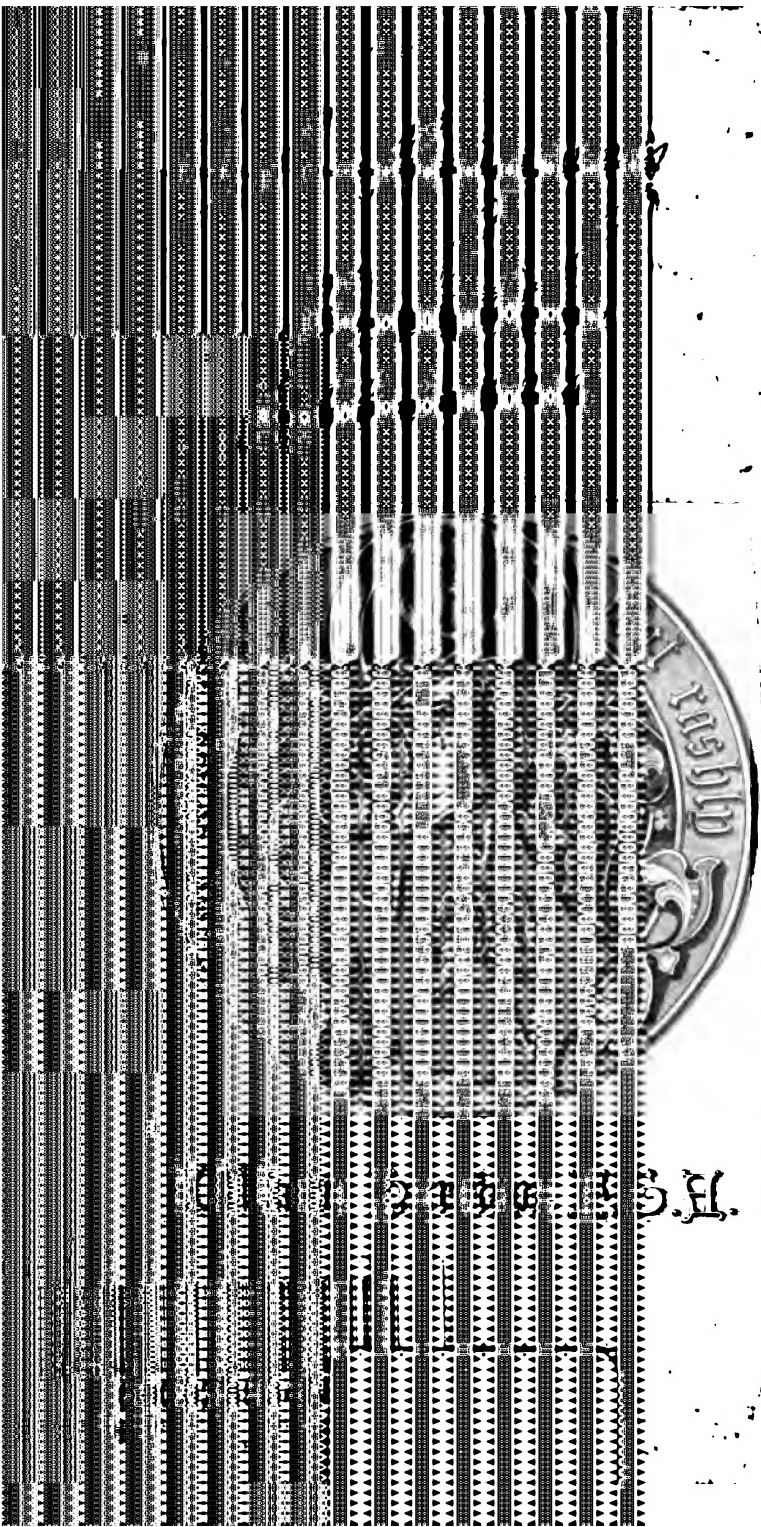
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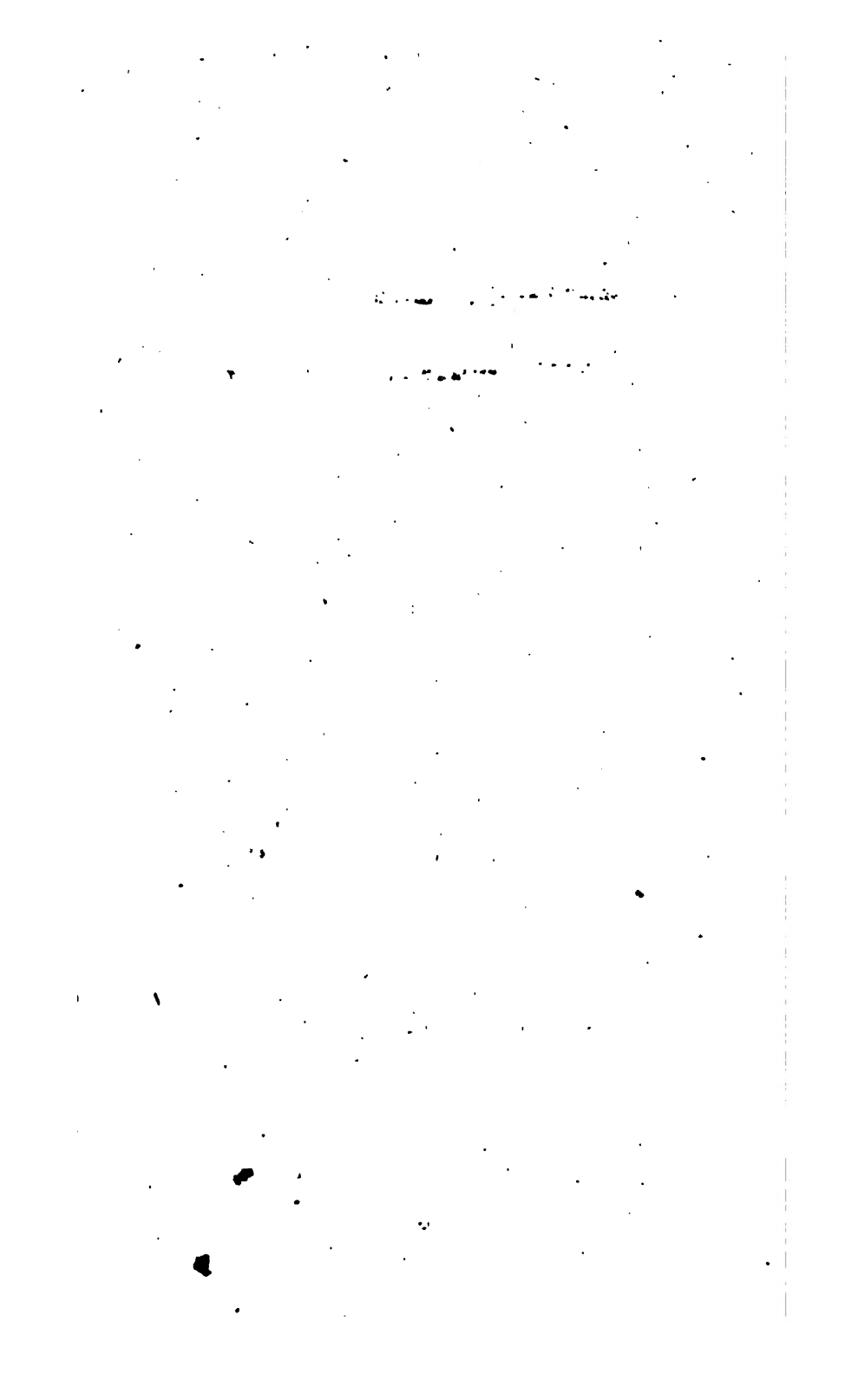
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 1745



INTERESTING MEMOIRS
OF
JAMES Earl of DERBY,
THE
LIFE OF O. CROMWELL,
History of the Rebellion,
AND
Life of BUONAPARTE.

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THE
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AND
THE OF ROZAPARTE.

MEMOIRS

OF

JAMES EARL OF DERBY,

With an Account of the

Life of Oliver Cromwell,

Including a complete

History of the Rebellion in the Years 1745-6,

To which is added,

THE LIFE OF

Napoleone Buonaparte,

CHIEF MAGISTRATE OF

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.



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MEMOIRS

OF

JAMES EARL OF DERBY.

THE noble Lord whose various transactions in life are recorded in the following pages, was the eldest son of *William* Earl of *Derby*, and the seventh Earl of his family. He married *Charlotte* daughter of *Claud de la Trovers*, by *Charlotte* his wife, daughter to the renowned Count *William* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, by his wife *Charlotte de Bourbon* of the royal house of *France*; by which marriage he stood related to the Kings of *France*, and to the Houses of *Bourbon*, *Montpellier*, *Conde*, Dukes of *Anjou*, Kings of *Naples* and *Sicily*, Arch Duke of *Austria*, Kings of *Spain*, Earls and Dukes of *Savoy*, Dukes of *Milan*, and to most of sovereign Princes in Europe.

He was called to Parliament by writ from King *Charles I.* in the year 1627, being the third of his reign, by the stile and title of *Sir James Stanley*, Knight of the Bath, and *Chevaliere de Strange*, without any local place, and as such sat in the House of Peers several Parliaments, when his father sat there as Earl of *Derby*.

Sir William Dugdale says of this noble Peer, that setting aside the great state he lived in, and his wonderful hospitality and beneficence to his neighbours, friends and servants, he was a person highly accomplished with learning, prudence, loyalty, and true
valour;

valour; and was one, if not the first of the Peers that repaired to King Charles I. at *York*, when the seditious, insolent and rebellious Londoners had drove his Majesty from *Whitehall*; and though he did not usually follow the court or design to advance his honour or family by a complimentary and obsequious attendance of that kind; yet when he saw his Majesty's affairs required his assistance, he thought himself obliged both by his religion and allegiance to assist him to the utmost of his power, with his life and fortune; and accordingly made a tender of both.

He observed the ministers of state about his Majesty looking coolly upon him, as perhaps being either too great or too popular, in their opinion, to be much favoured or employed in that critical juncture; yet his Lordship prudently concealed his sense thereof, and with the plainness and integrity of his loyal mind, offered himself ready to observe his Majesty's commands upon all occasions.

And in his own words tell us, that in the beginning of that war in 1643, he thought himself happy to have the general applause of his neighbouring gentlemen and yeomen, as they would choose to follow him as they had done his ancestors; but whether this was more to continue a custom, or the love of his name or person, was hard to say.

But this he knew, that he had raised three thousand good men who went with him out of *Lancashire*, to attend and serve his Majesty, and that he was extremely grieved to see the King in so bad a condition, which made him spare neither pains, cost nor hazard, to assist him in so just a quarrel; he lent the King all
his

his arms, and his Majesty gave him his warrant to receive as many from *Newcastle*.

But somebody was in the fault, his Majesty's warrant not being obeyed, nor he supplied with arms and ammunition as was expected his Majesty also allowed and ordered him a sufficient sum of money for his service; but some of his servants about him thought fit to keep it for other uses, "I shall not," says he, "enter into particulars, but only say, that this might shew the King my good intention in the discharge of a good conscience, and the preservation of my honour, in spite of envy and malice."

The first considerable debate wherein he eminently shewed himself, was concerning the most convenient place for setting up the King's standard, *York*, *Chester*, *Nottingham*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Oxford*, being in proposition, his Lordship having heard the several reasons and opinions offered, and well weighed and considered the arguments for their support; at last, with a calm and quiet humility, interposed to the following effect: That with humble submission to his Majesty and his council, he conceived *Lancashire* to be a convenient place to erect his Majesty's Standard in, and raise a considerable army; urging that it lay as the centre of the northern counties, to which the loyal parties of *Yorkshire*, *Cumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Cheshire*, *Shropshire*, *North Wales*, and *Nottinghamshire*, might have ready and easy access; that he apprehended the inhabitants of that country both gentry and commons (at least for the greatest part) well inclined to his Majesty's just cause; that the people are usually very hardy, and make good soldiers, and that he himself (though the

unworthiest of his Lieutenants) would to the utmost of his estate, contribute to his service; and that he durst promise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to be furnished out at his own charge; that he made no doubt but in three days to enlist 7000 men more under his Majesty's pay, and to make up an army of 10,000 men in *Lancashire*, to which the accessions from other counties might in a short time arise to a considerable army; and that he hoped his Majesty would be able to march to *London* walls, before the rebels could there form an army to oppose him.

These things thus proposed, his Majesty and council took time to consider and resolve what to do on that momentous affair: and few days after it was concluded, with much dissatisfaction to the party that favoured not his Lordship, that the standard should be set up at *Warrington*, in *Lancashire*, where his Majesty's army might have the convenience of both *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, for the quartering of both horse and foot.

His Lordship upon this resolve was dispatched into *Lancashire*, to prepare for his Majesty's reception, and to dispose the country to be ready for his service; immediately on his return into *Lancashire*, he mustered the county in three places, on the heaths by *Bury*, by *Ormskirk*, and by *Preston*, where at least twenty thousand men appeared to him in each field, most whereof were well armed with pike, musket, or other weapons, his Lordship intending to have done the same in *Cheshire*, and *North Wales*, where he was Lieutenant, but these things, which by his Lordship were really intended for his Majesty's service, were by the envy, jealousy, or prejudice of some at court, insinuated to serve other

other purposes, suggesting that the Earl was a popular man; that he was no favourer of the court, but rather a malcontent, that those noised musters which he had made were pre-indications of his ambitious designs; that it was dangerous trusting him with great power in his hands, who too well knew his near alliance to the crown; that his ancestor the Lord *Stanley*, though he appeared with *Richard III.* and gave his son *George*, Lord *Strange*, a pledge of his loyalty, yet turned the battle against him, and put the crown upon the head of *Henry VII.* That his uncle *Ferdinand* had likewise boldly declared his pretensions to the crown, that his Lady was a Hugonot, bred up in the religion and principles of the Dutch, and that for these and other good reasons it was not safe for his Majesty to put himself too far into his hands, or trust him with too great a power. These invidious and injurious insinuations, notwithstanding the King's good inclinations towards him, so far prevailed and puzzled his council, that they persuaded the easy good-natured King to change his resolution and to set up the royal standard at *Nottingham*, to divest the Earl of *Derby* of the Lieutenancy of *Cheshire* and *Wales*, and to join the Lord *Rivers*, newly made an Earl, in commission with him in *Lancashire*. This sudden and unexpected turn in his Majesty's councils being signified to his Lordship from *York*, though at present it gave him some trouble and anxiety of mind, yet agreeable to his great temper, he quickly recovered himself, and with great equanimity spoke to his effect, "Let my master be happy though I be miserable; and if they consult well for him I shall not be much concerned what becomes

comes of me. My wife, my family, and country are very dear unto me, but if my prince and religion be safe, I shall bless even my enemies who do well for them though in my ruin." Then with the advice of his friends, whose council he always used in cases of difficulty, he dispatched a gentleman to *York* with letters to the King, signifying that he had read the express of his Sovereign's good pleasure, as he ought to do with submission and due obedience, that though his enemies would not give him leave to serve his Sovereign, they should never so far provoke him as to desert him; that if he might not according to his birth and quality be permitted to fight for him, he would never draw his sword against him; that he did submissively resign the Lieutenancies of *Cheshire* and *North Wales* to his Majesty's disposal, but besought him to take away that of *Lancashire* also, rather than subject him to the reproach and suspicion of a partner in that government.

These letters being received and perused by the King and council, had only this effect, that Lord *Rivers* was removed, and the Earl left in the single command of *Lancashire*. But the unkind impolitic usage of this noble Lord (though by him suffered with great resolution) was by the country, who had the greatest veneration for his family, highly resented, and proved of the greatest prejudice to the King's affairs, many gentlemen in the north, who were formerly well inclined to the King's cause, seeing the contempt and ill usage of the Earl of *Arby*, either sat still, or revolted to the Parliament with all their dependencies, suspecting, as indeed it fell out, that the

the Earl of *Derby* being laid aside, the country would never follow any other commander, and that the King's interest would dwindle and soon be lost, and those divisions and disappointments his Lordship tells us made the ill-affected in *Lancashire* grow proud, and the meaner sort thought it a fine thing to set up against the great ones; and the Parliament being quickly advertised of the unhappy circumstances and management of the King's affairs, immediately offered his Lordship what power and command he would accept in their service; which his Lordship rejected with scorn and indignation.

Yet, the same bait took with many others that formerly had no inclination to the Puritanaical faction; and *Astton of Middleton*, *Holland of Heaton*, *Holcroft of Holcroft*, *Heywood of Heywood*, *Birch of Birch*, and several others, who supposing on this flight of the Earl of *Derby*, that the whole country would be at their devotion; took commissions from the Parliament, and with all speed garrisoned and fortified themselves in *Manchester*, the Parliament encouraging and assisting them with money and ammunition.

The royal standard being about this time set up at *Nottingham*, and the country not coming in as expected, the King now began to reflect on the ill usage of the Earl of *Derby*, and by an express under his own hand, desired him to raise what forces he could in *Lancashire*, and come with them to him; to this his Lordship answered, that the rebels had seized *Manchester*, that many of the country had joined them, and others had declared for a loose and undutiful neutrality; that the face of things was greatly altered by his Majesty's

Majesty's march another way, and that he could not now flatter his Majesty with the access of such aids as he might have done a few months past; however notwithstanding all the discouragements he met with, he would use all his diligence to raise what forces he could for his Majesty's assistance, and for that purpose his Lordship issued out his warrants for an appearance of all his tenants and dependents, but durst not venture to make a general muster of the country, for fear of waking the late suspicions as yet scarce asleep; and of his own tenants and relations raised three regiments of foot, and three troops of horse, and cloathed them at his own charge, and armed them out of his own magazine; and when they were in readiness to march, his Lordship posted to the King then at *Shrewsbury* to receive his commands for their disposal. His Majesty guessing the dangerous consequences that might ensue by leaving a nursery of rebellion behind him at *Manchester*, ordered those forces to attack that place, and required the Earl then with his Majesty, to give directions to Colonel *Gilbert Gerrard*, an old soldier, to draw before the town. The Colonel obeyed his order, but the waters being then so swelled he found it difficult to fix commodious posts for his horse and foot, which occasioned some delay in the intended attack of the town; and therefore the Earl himself was by his Majesty's special command sent thither from *Shrewsbury*, to give a speedy onset, and whether he carried the town or not, to march up to the camp.

The Earl had not been four hours before the town ere he summoned them to submit to the King's clemency, and to give up the place upon honourable

able terms, but they with great obstinacy refused all offers of mercy ; on which his Lordship gave orders for a storm upon the town, the next morning at four o'clock ; but that very night about twelve his Lordship received letters from the King, intimating that the Earl of *Essex* was at the head of the rebels, and then on his march from *London* towards him with a formidable army ; that he stood in need of those forces under his Lordship, and that if the town was not carried, he should not hazard any of them by an assault ; that if he carried the battle against *Essex*, those small garrisons would fall of themselves ; and that his Lordship should on the receipt of those letters forthwith advance to him with what forces he had.

Upon this though his Lordship made no doubt to have gained the place by an easy assault, and thought it would highly reflect upon his honour to quit it *re-into*, yet thought fit without dispute or delay to obey the King's commands, well knowing how his enemies at court would interpret any cross accident that might occur in any attempt contrary to the orders he had received ; he therefore to the wonder and regret of all his officers and soldiers, gave direction for a speedy march by five o'clock in the morning, and in two days brought to the King three regiments of foot, and three troops of horse, well hoping that he might have commanded the troops raised at his own charge, as a brigade in his Majesty's service.

However his enemies, and probably no friends to the King, so far wrought upon his Majesty's too easy and credulous temper, by secret, unjust, and malicious whispers, that he took the command of those troops

troops from the Earl, and disposed of them to other officers; for which the King only gave him for his reason the cheap and specious pretence; that it was necessary his Lordship should attend his charge in *Lancashire* and the motions of the rebels there; therefore desired him to hasten back, and to do all in his power to prevent the growth and increase of their forces in that county.

This noble Lord though a person of great temper, yet of as great a spirit, was so ruffled at this unkind usage, that he was scarce able to contain himself; but in a little time recovering from his great surprise and concern, replied to his Sovereign, "Sir, if I have deserved this indignity, I deserve also to be hanged; if not, my honour and quality command me to beg your justice against those persons, who in this insolent manner abuse both me and your Majesty, and if any man living (your Majesty excepted) shall dare to fix the least accusation upon me that may tend to your disadvantage, I hope you will give me leave to pick the calumny from his lips with the point of my sword."

The King with a smooth countenance, appeared to entertain no displeasure against his Lordship, but said my Lord, my affairs are troubled, the rebels are marching against me, and it is not now a time to quarrel amongst ourselves; have a little patience and I will do you right. Though his Lordship did with all moderation contain himself, and used all his endeavours to cover the dissatisfaction he was under on the manifest dishonour done him on this occasion; yet the matter could not be so privately carried on, but it was soon spread through the whole court and army; his
 Lord

Lordship's friends spoke plainly out, and his soldiers refused to march or serve under any other commander but his Lordship, who, by his wisdom and temper, composed the minds of his friends, and prevailed upon his soldiers to give obedience to their officers.

The rebels in *Lancashire* were not ignorant how things passed at court, and thought it was now a proper time to re-attempt his Lordship with fresh offers of power and command ; and to this purpose procured a new express from the Parliament to his Lordship, with fresh offers importing, " That he could not but be very sensible of the indignity put upon him at court by the King's evil counsellors ; that those enemies were the enemies of the nation ; that they struck at religion and all good men, and would permit none but papists or people popishly affected to be near his Majesty ; that it was the whole intent of the Parliament to remove men of such desperate and pernicious principles from his person, and to secure the true protestant religion ; that if his Lordship would engage in that good cause, he should have command equal to his own greatness, or any of his ancestors."

The purport of these letters, raised a greater indignation in his Lordship, than all the slights and indignities he had received at court ; whereupon he vouchsafed them no other answer than that he gave the Colonel who brought the message, " Pray tell the gentlemen at *Manchester*, and let them tell the gentlemen at *London*, when they hear I turn traitor, I shall hearken to their propositions, till then, if I receive any other papers of this nature, it shall be at the peril of him that brings them."

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The rebels in *Lancashire* had by this time garrisoned *Lancaster* and *Preston*, and in a manner commanded all the country; and his Lordship having divested himself of his arms and magazines, was not in a condition to make much resistance against them; yet he used all diligence to fortify his own house at *Latham*, and secretly got in men, horses, and ammunition, and had in a month's time raised a good troop of horse, and two companies of foot, and being advertised that three Captains of foot with their companies were advanced to *Houghton Common*, within six miles of *Latham*, his Lordship with what forces he had marched out against them, and after half an hour's fight, defeated and took all the three Captains prisoners, (one whereof was *Venables*, who was afterwards employed by *Oliver*, against *Hispaniola*.) By this defeat so unexpectedly given to that party, he made himself master of all their arms, and struck such terror in the country as gave his Lordship fresh reputation, inso-much that good store of horse and foot came daily to him; and he began thereby to confine the enemy to their garrison.

About this time Lord *Molyneux* coming to *Lancashire* to recruit his regiment, much shattered at *Edge-Hill* and *Brainford* fight, Lord *Derby* applied to him for assistance with his forces to take in the garrisons which so much annoyed the country and impeded his Majesty's service, to which Lord *Molyneux* agreed, and with their joint forces marched from *Latham-House* in the dark of the evening to *Lancaster*, without halting, being about thirty miles, and appeared before the town at break of day, and summoned the
garrison

garrison to surrender, who refusing to comply, the town was immediately stormed and taken at the second assault, which the soldiers were a little backward to engage in, but the Earl perceiving it, took a half pike in his hand, and called out to them "Follow me;" on which some gentlemen volunteers joined him, and all the soldiers cheerfully followed and entered the town, in which twenty soldiers were wounded, and that gallant, loyal and worthy gentleman, *Blundell of Crosby*, had his thigh shattered by a musket-ball.

Upon this his Lordship having demolished the works, and refreshed his men three days, began his march the third evening to *Preston*, where arriving, early next morning, he sent a summons to the mayor to surrender the town to the King's use; who refusing to obey the summons, the Earl gave orders to assault the works in three places, by Capt. *Chifenhall*, Capt. *Radeliff*, and Capt. *Edward Rowsthorne*. Capt. *Chifenhall* entered first, and being supported by the reserve, the town after about an hour's fight was subdued, and about 600 of the enemy killed, and the rest made prisoners, except some who escaped by the way of the river which was fordable. Then his Lordship having demolished the works of this town also, and judging that an useless garrison was not only a loss to the King, but a plague to the country by pillaging and oppressing them; after refreshing his soldiers four or five days, called a council of war, at which he proposed a march to *Manchester*, then the chiefest garrison the rebels had in the country, urging that now the enemy were under great consternation, and
the

the works of the town inconsiderable to resolved men ; and there was a great party in the place well affected to the King's cause, and that he was advertised that on appearance of the King's forces they would shew themselves.

Therefore if it pleased the Lord *Molyneux*, and the other commanders, (by whose assistance the late happy actions were achieved) to march with him to *Manchester*, he would either reduce the town or lay his bones before it.

This proposal met with some opposition, but after a short debate it was carried for a march, and the army advanced that night as far as *Chorley*, but before two o'clock in the morning, Lord *Molyneux* was by the King's command, called up to *Oxford*, with his regiment, Lord *Derby* with much importunity intreated his stay but for four days, that he might attempt something on *Manchester*, which the Lord *Molyneux* and the other officers with him flatly refused, and besides produced their commissions to make up their regiment and broken companies out of the forces newly raised by the Earl of *Derby*.

No doubt but this usage must be very shocking to that great Lord, who being not only deserted by his auxiliaries, but deprived of his own forces, was left alone to secure himself by a retreat to his house at *Latham*: at which his and the King's enemies taking new courage, united all their scattered forces into one body, and assembled at *Wigan*, a town newly garrisoned by his Lordship, and trusted to the command of Major-General *Blair*, a Scotch gentleman recommended to him by the King, which town they took
and

and plundered to the very utensils and plate of the communion table, which one of their puritanical teachers, one *Tyldesley*, hung round him as the spoils and plunder of a popish idol.

All those discouragements sufficient to have sunk the spirits, and shaken the loyalty of the most affectionate and dutiful subject in the world, served only to excite his great and loyal mind, how to retrieve all past misfortunes: and when some about him took, as he thought, an unbecoming liberty in reflecting upon the court, he was observed to silence them with that passage of Tacitus: "*Prævis dictis factisque ex posteritate et fama metus.*"

Thus whilst his Lordship was engaged in new contrivances to advance his Majesty's service, he received an express from the King, importing that his enemies had formed some projects to seize the *Isle of Man*; that they had a party in the Island in confederacy with them and without speedy care, it was in danger of being lost; then thanked him for his many services in *England*, and besought him to hasten speedily thither, for the security of that place.

Upon his Lordship's perusal of these dispatches, he spoke to his Lady with more than ordinary quickness and concern, saying, "My heart, my enemies have now their will, having prevailed with his Majesty to order me to the *Isle of Man*, as a softer banishment from his presence, and their malice."

His Lordship who always had known how to obey but never to dispute the King's commands, was upon this occasion under inexpressible grief and confusion of mind, being as it were at a loss and struggle of thoughts,

thoughts, how and in what manner to conduct himself in so critical a juncture, with regard to his Majesty's commands, and the service he was capable of doing for him in *England*; reasoning with himself in the following manner, and saying, "I that have with the few that durst take my part, hitherto kept the greatest part of *Lancashire* in subjection to his Majesty, in spite of his enemies, must now abandon my family, friends, and country's safety, to the malice of a wicked multitude, without either mercy or compassion."

"But (as his Lordship's Memoirs go on) it being not known that the Queen was at *York* with great forces, I was advised and requested by the loyal gentlemen then with me, to go to her Majesty and represent to her our distressed state, and the necessity of giving us speedy help and relief, which I complied with, and leaving the few forces I had in *Lancashire*, under command of Lord *Molyneux*, of which I have a long story of great trouble I had with them, as well as the enemy.

"In my absence the enemy possessed themselves of the whole country, saving my house, and Sir *John Garlington's*, and a misfortune happening at *Wakefield*, prevented the Queen's sending part of the forces with her to our assistance, and the *Lancashire* troops yet remaining, taking a march towards *York*, in hopes of meeting me there, were disappointed, which verified the old proverb,—“Ill fortune seldom comes alone.”

"For at that time a report was spread that some Scots intending to assist the Parliament, would land in the North, and in their way endeavour to take the *Isle of Man*, which might prove of ill consequence to the

the King's affairs, to which I gave not much heed, but continued my desire to wait on the Queen to *Oxford*, (where the King then was) and during my stay there I wrote the following letter to my son *Charles*, Lord *Strange*, and had enlarged but was suddenly called away. viz.

"That I had received letters from the *Iſle of Man*,
 "intimating the great danger of a revolt there; for
 "that many people following the example of *England*,
 "began by murmuring and complaining againſt the
 "Government, and from ſome ſeditious and wicked
 "ſpirits had learned the ſame leſſons with the London-
 "ers, to come to court in a tumultuous manner, de-
 "manding new laws, and a change of the old; that
 "they would have no biſhop, pay no tithes to the
 "clergy, deſpiſed authority, and reſcued ſome who
 "had been committed by the Governor for inſolence
 "and contempt. It was alſo reported that a ſhip of
 "war which I had there for a defence of the Iſland,
 "was taken by the Parliament's ſhips, (which proved
 "true) and that it was judged by the Queen and thoſe
 "with her (as Lord *Goring*, Lord *Digby*, Lord *Jermin*,
 "Sir *Edward Deering*, and many more) that I ſhould
 "forthwith go to the Iſland, to prevent the impend-
 "ing miſchief in time, as well for the King's ſervice,
 "as the preſervation of my own inheritance."

"Thus far I have digreſſed to take off that objection
 often aſked, that when every gallant ſpirit had engaged
 himſelf for the King and country why I left the na-
 tion, deſerted his Maſteſty's ſervice and cauſe, and be-
 came a neuter, with many ſuch like invidious and
 malicious ſuggeſtions to my prejudice, but I bleſs

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God

God I am fully satisfied with my own conduct and integrity of heart, well remembering all those circumstances, as well as the wicked insinuations of my implacable and restless enemies. How others may be satisfied herewith I know not, but think this short relation, for want of time to set things in a fuller light, may rather puzzle the minds of the readers, if any should chance to see it but yourself, but you my son, are bound to believe well of your father, and I to be thankful to Almighty God, that you so well understand yourself and me; as for others, I am unconcerned whether they understand me or not.

“ Upon the above advice by the Queen and friends, I returned to *Latham*, and having secretly made what provisions I possible could, of men, money, and ammunition, for the defence and protection of my wife and children, against the insolence and affronts of the enemy, prepared for my speedy voyage to the *Isle of Man*, taking with me such men and materials as might answer those purposes I was sent about.

“ Leaving my house and children, and all my concerns in *England* to the care of my wife, a person of virtue and honour, equal to her high birth and quality, who being now left alone, a woman, a stranger in the country, (and as the enemy thought) without friends, provisions, or ammunition, for defence or resistance, concluded that *Latham-House* would fall an easy prey to them, to which purpose they procured a commission from the Parliament to reduce it by treaty or force.”

But before I proceed to acquaint the world with the conduct and bravery of this most heroic and noble Lady,

Lady, in defence of herself; family, and friends, give me leave to attend her husband, the puissant Earl of *Derby*, to his principality of *Munn*, and relate from his own Memoirs, the state he found that place in, with his conduct and management thereof, and his observations of that island and people, also his instructions, by letters from thence to his son Lord *Strange*, advising and instructing him in the government of that island when it should descend to him, with the conduct and management of himself and family, in the course of his life.

“ My coming to the *Isle of Man* proved in good time, for it was believed by most, that a few days longer absence would have ended the happy peace that island had so long enjoyed. When the people knew of my coming they were much affected with it, as all new things usually do the common sort, but this good I found, that my Lieutenant Capt. *Greenhalgh*, had wisely managed the business by patience and good conduct, and observing the general disorder, had considered that the people were to be won as you tame wild beasts, by scratching and stroaking, and not by violent wrestling, lest they should turn upon you and know their strength; and who so powerful a prince, if a multitude rise against him, being alone or with a few, can well be able to resist them. As it is not therefore good that the common people know their own strength; so it is safest to keep them ignorant of what they may do, but rather give them daily occasion to admire the clemency of their Lord; and this to be done as often as he exerciseth justice and mercy; the one without too much rigour; (but still according to the

the laws) and the other with softness upon fit objects, and those to make his own act; for every act of grace or whatever is good or pleasing, must come immediately from himself, and never let it be known that any particular person hath power or occasion to persuade you to do what is good and just; and if you be jealous that they would think such an one your adviser, be sure some time to deny that man something that notice may be taken of it; and shew the world that reason and justice is the rule you are governed by; but if in any thing you are obliged to be harsh, of that let another bear a share, and when you deny or afflict, let another's mouth pronounce it."

"The Captain before my coming had imprisoned some saucy fellow, in the face of the rabble, who cried aloud that they would all fare as that man did; which he warily seemed not to fear, and only threatened to lay every man by the heels that continued to behave in that saucy manner he had done; well knowing that if he punished him at that time, the rest would have rescued him, which would have let them see their own power, and how little his staff of office could annoy or hurt them. He then adjourned the court for that time, and wished them for the future to put their complaints in writing, and with good words promised to redress all their just grievances, and for that purpose would send over to me, without whom he told them no law could be changed; with which they were well pleased, and so departed."

"Here you may observe the benefit of a good Governor; and indeed of any servant in any office of trust; for the first judgment we make of a great man's understanding

understanding is the choice of his servants and followers; for if they be good and faithful, then he is reputed a wise man, as having knowledge to discern, and for want of this caution and care, many great families in *England* are ruined."

The Earl of *Derby's* character of Capt. *Greenhalgh*, and his reasons for his choice of him for Governor.

"First that he was a gentleman well born and such usually scorn a base action: Secondly, That he has a good estate of his own, and therefore need not borrow of another, which hath been a fault in this country; for when Governors have wanted, and had been forced to be beholden to those who may be the greatest offenders against the Lord and country, in such case the borrower becomes servant to the lender, to the stoppage, if not the perversion of Justice; next he was a deputy lieutenant and justice of the peace for his own country; he governed his own affairs well, and therefore was the more likely to do mine so; he hath been approved prudent and valiant, and as such fitter to be trusted; in fine he is such that I thank God for him, and charge you to love him as a friend."

"When the people are bent on mischief it is folly rashly to oppose them without sufficient power and force, neither is it discretion to yield to them too much; for reason will never persuade a senseless multitude; but keeping your gravity and state, comply with them seemingly, and rather defer the matter to another time, with assurance that you will forward their own desires, by which you may gain time as if convinced by their reasons and not the fear of any danger from them; and by the next meeting you ~~may~~ have

have taken off some of their leading champions, and either by good words or fair promises softened them to your own will; remembering that tumults are easier allayed by daring and undaunted men, than by wiser ones; for commonly the people more esteem the breast than the brain, and are much sooner compelled than persuaded.

“It is fit to have charity for all men, and think them honest; but as it is certain that the greater part of men are bad, I may fear that few are good; the sure way for a right knowledge of this I took to be, by appointing a meeting in the heart of the country, which I did, and there wished every man to tell his grievances freely, and and I would hear all complaints, and give them the best remedy I could; by which I thought those who had entered into any evil designs against me or the country, might have time to find some excuses for themselves and lay the blame and charge upon others.

“And thus I chose rather to give them hopes and prevent them falling into violent courses before I could be provided for them; and indeed I feared so many of them were engaged by oath and covenant, after the new way of *Scotland*, that it would not be easy to make them sensible of their error: nevertheless matters were not so ripe as I could have wished, and it was not amiss to address myself even to the chief actors in this business, telling them somebody was to blame; that I apprehended the people were misled, and that it would be an acceptable service in those who could bring them off it, and that if the common sort could be persuaded of their mistake,
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would hinder any further inquiry into the business ; upon which some did really confess their faults, and discover to me the whole design, by which I made the good step, by dividing the faction, upon this each Parish gave me a petition of their grievances, and I gave them good words, promising to take the same into consideration ; upon which they appeared easily and departed : After this I appointed another meeting at *Peel Castle*, where I expected some wrangling, and met with it ; but I had provided for my own safety, and if occasion were, to curb the rest ; for in such cases 'tis good to be assured, of which notice being taken you will have much better dealing with them ; otherwise the old saying is very true, " That he that is not sure to win is sure to lose." A number of busy bodies spoke *Manx* only ; which some officiously said, should be commanded to hold their peace, which I was unwilling to ; for I came prepared to give them liberty of speech, knowing by good experience that those people were their mother's children, loving to speak much : and should be dealt with like prattling women or a barking cur at your horse's heels, give them liberty to put themselves out of breath, and they'll be sooner quiet, and will be more content if you deny them after much speaking, than if you prevent it.

" It is good in all business where you must appear in public (where you are as all great men are, like a candle upon a mountain) to appear in such a manner as may gain you respect and praise of the people ; and is fit that all may look upon you : I resolved to give them liberty of speaking in their own way, (for to reason

reason with them was in vain) provided they crossed not my motions, which I was careful might be just and lawful.

“ And to bring my designs to pass, I had spies amongst the busy bodies, who after they had sufficiently spoke ill of my office, began to speak well of me, and of my good intent to them to give them all satisfaction in their just grievances ; that they were assured I did love the people, and that if any were so unreasonable to provoke me they would run a great hazard ; that I had power to maintain my actions, and there was no appeal.

“ When I took occasion above to commend the worth of the present Governor, I did it as a rule to you in the choice of your counsellors ; and remember this benefit by council, that all good success will be your glory, and all evil your excuse, having followed the advice of others, your counsellors are not likely to be better than yourself ; but if they were, know this, that to ask council of one's betters tieth to performance ; otherwise to ask council is to honour him of whom it required, and you are at liberty to do as you please.

“ While I was here I became acquainted with one Capt. *Christian*, who I observed had abilities sufficient to do me service ; and being recommended to do me service ; and being recommended to me by a friend, I enquired more of him and was told he was a *Manx* man born, and had made himself a good fortune in the *Indies* ; and he offered himself on these terms, that being resolved to retire into his own country, whether he had the place of power or no, he would be content to hold the staff of government until I made choice
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of another, and then would willingly resign, and as for the pay, he valued that so little, that he would do the service without any, or what pleased me.

“He was an excellent companion, and as rude as a Captain should be, but something more refined and civilized by serving the Duke of *Buckingham* about a year at court : Thus far I cannot much blame myself, but think if I had a jewel of value, I prized it at too high a rate, which he knew very well, and made use thereof to his own ends, therein abusing me and presuming of my support in all his actions, which from time to time he gilded over with such fair pretences, that I believed and trusted him too much. Alas I gave too little heed to complaints against him which was my fault, for which I have been whipped, and will do so no more : While he governed for some years he pleased me very well, and had the quality of the best of servants, for whatever I bid him do he would perform, and if it succeeded ill, would take it upon himself, but if well would give me the glory of it. This he did while I continued my favours to him, the denial of which would have been as ungrateful as unwise in me, if I should not thereby have obliged him to me as the only means to keep him good.

“But such is the nature and condition of men, that most have one failing or other to folly their best actions, and his was that condition which is ever found with drunkenness, viz. avarice, which is observed to grow in men with their years.

“He was ever forward in making many requests, which while they were fit for me to grant I did not deny ; but indeed a good servant would rather be
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prevented

prevented by his Lord's generosity, than demand any thing of himself; and chuse to be enriched, as if enforced, rather than pretend to it, and ascribe the benefit to the honour of his office, and not to merit.

"But I observed the more I gave the more he asked, and such things as I could not grant without much prejudice to myself and others; so after a while I did sometime refuse him, on which it was sure to fall out, according to the old observation, "That when "a prince hath given all, and the favourite can well "desire no more, then both grow weary of one another;" "ill servants like ill diseases are easily cured when known, but are dangerous if undiscovered."

Thus far having attended the noble Lord *Derby*, to the Principality of *Mann*, and related his transactions there, with the great confusion, disorder, and sedition he found the people in on his first coming thither; and also observed his great prudence, judgment, and temper in calming their passions, healing their seditions, and reconciling them in duty to their king, in obedience to himself, and in friendship and unity with one another: Let us therefore for a while leave him in peace, and the good esteem of his subjects, and return to the great and noble *LADY DERBY* and her children, at *LATHAM-HOUSE*, and enquire of their welfare during his absence; whom he had left upon the very brink of danger, and for ought he knew utter destruction.

We have already informed the reader, that before his Lordship left *England*, he had been advertised that the rebels had got a commission from the Parliament to reduce *Latham-House*, by treaty or force, which
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induced him to make all possible provision of men, money, and ammunition, for the support and defence of his noble family and their friends, who had kindly offered their best assistance ; of which the great Lady *Derby* being informed, and also of the malicious designs and evil intentions of the enemy against her, used all diligence to get into the house more men, arms, and provisions, and to keep it at least so long as to procure honourable terms to quit it ; but this was done by her with all possible speed, privacy, and caution, that the enemy might not alledge her gathering forces as an act of public hostility, and therefore hasten their approach, before her levies were got in readiness.

A true and genuine account of the famous and ever memorable SIEGE of

LATHAM HOUSE.

Begun the 28th of Februtary, and carried on by the Parliament army till the 27th of May, 1644.

COLONEL *Ashton* of *Middleton*, Colonel *Egerton* of *Shaw*, Colonel *Holcroft* of *Holcroft*, and Col. *Rigby*, with their regiments, and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* from *Yorkshire* with his troops, was called to their assistance to besiege or take by storm (for ought they knew) an unarmed Lady in her own house : But that which the heroic Lady most feared was, that they intended a sudden assault, which she collected from the multitude of their forces then in view ; and that her own men being but raw and unexperienced, would be therefore terrified, and not make a worthy resistance.

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She therefore caused her men to be listed under six captains, whom for their courage and integrity, she chose out of the gentlemen that were in the house to her assistance, viz. Capt. *Farrington* of *Werden*, Capt. *Charnock* of *Charnock*, Capt. *Chiffenhall* of *Chiffenhall*, Capt. *Rosthern* of *New-Hall*, Capt. *Ogle* of *Prescot*, and Capt. *Molineux Radcliffe* : These she desired to train, instruct, and encourage her men, being yet unskilful and unfit for service.

These Captains received all their orders from Capt. *Farmer*, whom her Ladyship had made Major of the house ; and he received his orders from her Ladyship : He was by nation a *Scotchman*, very skilful in the art of war, having been long in the school of *Mars*, in the *Low Countries* ; a man of true courage and approved conduct. This worthy gentleman had the misfortune to be afterwards slain in the battle of *Marston Moor*, serving there under Colonel *Chiffenhall*.

This martial and heroic Lady commanded all the affairs of the house to be managed with the greatest privacy, and permitted none to go out of the gates, but those she could trust and rely upon, both for prudence and loyalty ; the rest were so concealed that when the enemy drew near to *Latham House*, they dreamed of no other resistance but from her own servants.

In the interim the officers of the enemy being advanced to *Ormskirk*, two miles from *Latham* : Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, as commander in chief, sent on the 28th of February, 1644, a trumpet and a gentleman of quality with him, to desire a friendly conference with the *Lady Derby*, to prevent if it might be, all the mischief

chief that would ensue by a misunderstanding and breach betwixt her Ladyship and him, to this her Ladyship consented. Whereupon Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and some gentlemen with him, immediately came from *Ormskirk* to *Latham*, and were admitted to her Ladyship; but in the mean time by the advice of Major *Farmer*, to prevent a surprize or sudden assault, her Ladyship caused all her soldiers to be placed in very good order, under their respective officers, from the main guard in the first court, down to the great hall, where her Ladyship had ordered Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be received, and had placed all the rest of her men in open fight upon the walls and the tops of the towers, in such manner that they might appear to be both numerous and well-disciplined; in hopes that this unexpected appearance of so much strength within, might give some terror to the enemy without, as she feared their great number might somewhat discourage her new raised soldiers.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the gentlemen with him being arrived at the house, were admitted and received by her Ladyship with the greatest civility: when after a short respite, Sir *Thomas* acquainted her Ladyship, that they were commanded by the Parliament to reduce that house to their obedience, and that they were commissioned to offer to her Ladyship an honourable and safe removal with her children, servants, and all her goods, (arms and cannon only excepted) to her Lord's house at *Knowsley*; and that she should enjoy one moiety of her Lord's estate in all places in *England*, for the support of herself and children.

To this her Ladyship answered, that she was there
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left under a double trust, one of loyalty and faith to her husband, the other of allegiance and duty to her sovereign; that till she had obtained their consent she could not give up that house without manifest disloyalty and breach of trust to them both, therefore desired only one month's time to know their pleasure therein; and then if she obtained their consent, she would quietly yield up the house; if not, she hoped they would excuse her if she endeavoured to preserve honour and obedience, though in her own ruin.

To this Sir *Thomas Fairfax* replied, that it exceeded their commission to give her Ladyship any further respite for consideration than one day, and so departed, observing in his recess from the house, the situation and strength of it, and the order and regular disposal of the soldiers; as perhaps either conceiving the number of her soldiers to be greater than they were, or suspecting the resolution and courage of the common soldiers of his own party, or else as being a person of greater honour and generosity than his confederates, judged it ignoble and unmanly to assault a lady of her high birth and quality in her own house, without any other provocation than keeping her Lord's house, by his command; a Lady that had left her country and kindred for the enjoyment of the protestant religion.

And agreeably thereto, at the first council of war after their return from the said conference, he declared himself against a present storm, (urged by some) and advised a regular siege, which advice was greatly advanced by a circumstance that occurred during the time of the conference or treaty with the Lady; a Captain of the Parliament party then before
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the house, observing one of her Ladyship's chaplains,* whom the Earl had left with her as a person well able to assist her with his council, and would be faithful to her in all her concerns; and who had received their education together, and were not only well acquainted, but intimate and familiar with each other; at the close of the before-mentioned party with the Lady, the Captain getting an opportunity of free discourse with the said chaplain, attempted by direction from the commander of that party, to gain from him the secrets of that council, by which the Lady had resolved to keep the house, and conjured him by virtue of their ancient friendship, to tell him truly upon what confidence she proceeded to reject the offers made her by the Parliament, and think to defend her house against so great a strength as was then encamped before it in the park.

To this the Chaplain deriving on the same design with his lady, to avert a sudden assault, answered, that upon a firm promise of secrecy, he would acquaint the Captain with the truth and mystery of the council, viz. "That the Lady had but little provision of victuals in the house, that she was oppressed with the number of her soldiers, that she would not be able to subsist above 14 days for want of bread to supply them, that she hoped they would give a sudden onset to the house, not from the multitude and courage of her soldiers to give them a repulse, nor upon her own strength to discourage the enemy to raise the siege; but in case they should continue a siege, she must inevitably be forced to surrender the place,"

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* The Rev. Mr. Rutter, afterwards bishop.

The Captain, as the Chaplain imagined he would, as soon as he came to the council, imparted the conference with the Chaplain, as the grand secret of the Lady and her captains; to which Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and the Colonels with him giving credit, laid aside all thoughts of a sudden force, and resolved on a close and formal siege.

Fourteen days being expired, Sir *Thomas* sent a summons by a trumpet to the Lady to surrender the house immediately, upon the infallible advice of the Chaplain that her provisions were then all spent; but by this time her soldiers were well hardened, the walls well lined, the cannon well fitted, and the Lady resolved to make a brave defence, and set the enemy at defiance: And therefore by the trumpet returned the following answer, to wit, "That as she had not lost her regard for the church of *England*, nor her allegiance to her prince, nor her faith to her Lord, she could not therefore as yet give up that house; that they must never hope to gain it, 'till she had either lost all these or her life in defence of them."

Whereupon Sir *Thomas Fairfax* seeing the Lady's resolution for a vigorous resistance, and that the Chaplain had only abused the credulity of the confident Captain, left Colonel *Egerton* commander in chief, and with him Major *Morgan*, as Engineer, to manage the siege; himself with his own troops being commanded by the Parliament to other service.

Latham House stands on a flat, upon a moorish, springy ground, was encompassed with a strong wall two yards thick; upon the walls were nine towers flanking each other, and in every tower were six pieces

of ordnance, that played three one way and three the other: Without the wall was a mote eight yards wide and two yards deep, upon the back of the mote between the wall and the graff was a strong wall of palisadoes around; besides all these there was a high strong tower called the *Eagle Tower*, in the midst of the house, surmounting all the rest, and the gate house was also two high and strong buildings, with a strong tower on each side of it; and in the entrance to the first court, upon the tops of these towers were placed the best and choicest marksmen, who usually attended the Earl in his hunting and other sports, as huntsmen, keepers, fowlers, and the like; who continually kept watch with scrued guns, and long fowling pieces upon those towers, to the great loss and annoyance of the enemy, especially of their commanders, who were frequently killed in their trenches, or as they came or went to or from them; besides all that is said hitherto of the walls, tower, and mote, &c. there is something so particular and romantic in the general situation of this house, as if nature herself had formed it for a strong hold or place of security; for before the house to the south and south-west, is a rising ground so near it as to overlook the top of it, from which it falls so quick that nothing planted against it on those sides can touch it further than the front wall; and on the north and east sides, there is another rising ground, even to the edge of the mote, and then falls away so quick, that you can scarce at the distance of a carbine shot see the house over that height, so that all batteries placed there are so far below it as to be of little service against it; (of which more hereafter) only let us ob-

serve by the way, that the uncommon situation of it may be compared to the palm of a man's hand, flat in the middle, and covered with a rising round about it, and so near to it, that the enemy in two years were never able to raise a battery against it so as to make a breach in the wall practicable to enter the house by way of storm: Now let us see how the enemy proceeded in the attack of it, after the departure of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

Colonel *Egerton*, pushed on by the inveterate malice and spite of Colonel *Rigby*, gave orders for drawing a line of circumvallation round about the house; which being observed by the Lady and her officers, they resolved to give them some disturbance in their first approaches, and in a council agreed to make a sally upon them with 200 men under the command of Major *Farmer*, which was carried on with so much bravery and resolution, that they beat the enemy from all their trenches, and pursued them to their main guard, and even as far as prudence and good conduct would permit, without hazard of being intercepted in their retreat by the enemy's horse.

This sally was made the 12th of March, 1644, wherein were killed about sixty of the enemy, and near as many more made prisoners, with the loss of only two men. After this smart attack by the besieged, the enemy doubled all their guards, and drew new lines about the house at a greater distance, (as one effect of the situation above described) called in all the country, and made the poor men work in the trenches, where great numbers of them were slain by the frequent sallies from the house.

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In about five weeks they finished their new line; and then run a deep trench near to the mote, and there raised a very strong battery, whereon they placed a large mortar-piece, (sent them from *London*) from which they cast about fifty stones of fifteen inches diameter into the house; as also grenades of the same size, alias bomb-shells, the first of which falling near the place where the Lady and her children with all the commanders were seated at dinner, shivered all the room but hurt no body.

The lady and her commanders observing the soldiers something terrified with the frequent shooting of those unusual and destructive fire-balls, resolved at a council of war to make a strong sally, and attempt the taking of that mortar-piece.

Besides which the enemy had twenty-nine short cannon, and five longer for grenades; with several other cannon, from which they fired upon the house many days, but particularly on the 12th of April, a cannon ball came through the lady's chamber window, but did little damage, upon this the sally above resolved on, was put into execution: The van was commanded by that brave and loyal gentlemen Capt. *Molineux Radscliffe*: The main body by Captain *Chiffenhall*, and the reserve by Major *Farmer*; and in this order they assaulted the enemy's trenches with so much bravery, that after an hour's sharp dispute, they made themselves masters of all their works, nailed up and overturned all their cannon, and those they found upon carriages they rolled into the mote, and brought the mortar piece into the house; and continued masters of the enemy's works and trenches all that day,
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and with the utmost pains and diligence endeavoured to destroy and render useless every one of them.

During all this sharp and bloody fight, the heroic and most undaunted Lady Governess was without the gates, and sometimes near the trenches, encouraging her brave soldiers with her presence; and as she constantly began all her undertakings with prayers in her chapel, so she closed them with thanksgiving, and truly it was hard to say whether she was more eminent for courage, prudence, and steady resolution; or justice, piety, and religion: And I think we may justly infer, that the good Providence of Almighty God watchfully protected her from the evil designs and wicked machinations of her incensed and inveterate enemies, who as the prisoners informed us, had about the time of our successful sally, projected to scale the walls on every side of the house with their whole army at one time, and to destroy the Countess of *Derby*, and all that belonged to her.

The enemy having rallied their soldiers, repossessed themselves the night following of their trenches, and for five or six days wrought with all their forces to repair the breaches that had been made, in which, notwithstanding they were three times dislodged and scattered, by vigorous sallies from the house.

Colonel *Rigby*, in the mean time, taking occasion from the late defeat, accused Colonel *Egerton* of neglect and indolence in carrying on the siege, and got commission from the Parliament to be commander in chief; and to give him his due, though a rebel, was neither wanting in care or diligence to distress the house: He denied a pass to three sick gentlemen to

out of the house, and would not suffer a midwife to go into the house to a gentlewoman in travail, nor a little milk for the support of young infants, but was every way severe and rude, beyond the barbarity of a Turkish general. For a fortnight together he was permitted to carry on his works without much disturbance, the house being in want of powder to make frequent sallies. But that defect being supplied by what they got in a sally, the Lady proposed to the council of war to make a fresh assault upon all their trenches, which being agreed upon, Capt. *Edward Rosser* had the van, Capt. *Farmer* the main body, and Capt. *Chiffenhall* the reserve; these gentlemen behaved with their usual courage and resolution, beat the enemy from all their works, cleared the trenches, and nailed up all their cannon, in which service they slew 120 of the enemy, with the loss only of three soldiers, and five or six wounded.

The enemy having lain four months before the house, in which time by the confession of prisoners taken in the several sallies, they had lost above two thousand men; Colonel *Rigby* sent the Lady a summons of another nature than those formerly sent by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* or Colonel *Egerton*, to wit, "That he required the Lady would forthwith deliver up the house to the service of the Parliament; that there was no hope of any relief from the King's forces, which were then in so low and desperate a condition; and that if she refused to deliver it up, upon that summons, she must hereafter expect the utmost severity of war."

Her Ladyship having communicated this summons
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to the council of war, did with their unanimous consents return by the trumpet who brought it, (for she refused to give any answer in writing) "Trumpet said she, tell that insolent rebel *Rigby*, that if he presumes to send any other summons to this place, I will hang up the messenger at the gates."

The Earl of *Derby* being at that time in the *Isle of Man*, and alarmed with the distress of his Lady and children, well knowing her great and noble mind, that she would rather chuse to perish than give up herself and them to *Rigby's* mercy and disposal, hastened from the island with all possible quickness, and with the utmost speed, implored his Majesty's favour for the relief of his Lady and distressed children; his highness Prince *Rupert* having at that time happily gained a victory over the rebels at *Newark*, his Majesty gave way that he should march through *Lancashire* to the relief of *York*, then besieged by the enemy, and to quicken his Highness in his march, the Earl of *Derby* gave his soldiers a largess, or caress of three thousand pounds, which he had raised upon his Lady's jewels, conveyed to him out of *Latham House* by a sally.

His Highness Prince *Rupert* entered *Lancashire* at *Stockport* bridge, where he defeated a party of the enemy commanded by Colonel *Duckensfield*, and some sent from *Manchester* to guard that pass: *Rigby* now hearing that the Prince had entered the country, and fearing a visit from him, thought proper on the 27th of May, 1644, to raise the siege of *Latham House*, and march with all his strength, being about 2000 men, to *Bolton*, a garrison of the enemy's; which with the forces he found there, and some access from other

other places made up an army of 3000, to wit, 2500 foot, and 500 horse; with these he resolved to give defiance to the Prince; having there the advantage of high and strong mud walls, with which and a large ditch under them, the enemy had many months before environed that town.

An Account of the SIEGE and TAKING of
BOLTON,

In the County of Lancaster,

On the 28th of May, 1644, by his Highness Prince
RUPERT, Chief Commander of the Army of his
Uncle CHARLES I.

THE Prince being advertised that the siege of *Latham-House* was raised, and that *Rigby* the late besieger thereof with his army was fortified in *Bolton*, resolved to do all that lay in his power to avenge the affronts and abuses put upon and suffered by the brave and most noble Lord *Derby*, to whom he knew himself nearly allied by consanguinity of blood; therefore waving their garrison of *Manchester*, he hastened to *Bolton*, which being but of a small circuit, and defended with three thousand men, his Highness rightly judged would make a vigorous resistance; however, having called a council of war, ordered his post, and prepared for a storm, he gave directions for the assault, which was performed with much gallantry and resolution by his men; but being greatly annoyed from the wall by the enemy's cannon, and the multitude of the defendants,

defendants, they were obliged to retreat, and quit the assault, with the loss of two hundred men.

His Highness was greatly irritated and ruffled by this repulse, but especially by the barbarous cruelty of the enemy, who murdered his soldiers taken in the storm in cool blood, upon the walls before his eyes, with which he was highly provoked, and called another council of war, wherein he proposed a second onset. The Earl of *Derby* being much concerned for his Lady and children, who he knew, unless the town was taken, would upon the Prince's departure be again immediately besieged, requested his Highness to allow him two companies of his old soldiers, then under the command of Colonel *Tyldesley*, and to give him the honour to command the van, saying he would either enter the town or leave his body in the ditch ; his Highness appeared unwilling to hazard a person of his worth in so desperate an action, yet upon his importunity complied with his request ; and things being prepared and ready, the Prince gave orders for an assault on all parts of the town where it was possible to make any approach.

The Earl of *Derby* with his two hundred men, marched directly to the walls, and after a quarter of an hour's hot dispute, entered the first man himself, and was well supported both by his followers and by the other divisions, the town being attacked on every side at the same instant. *Rigby* himself got away, but left 2000 of his men behind him, most of whom were slain upon the spot, the Prince forbidding to give quarter to any person then in arms, because they had so inhumanly murdered his men in cool blood.

This

This action was performed on the 28th of May, 1644; and the sudden and surprising conquest of this town (just after so smart a repulse) was chiefly attributed to the courage and resolution of the brave Earl of *Derby*, animated by a just concern for the sufferings of his noble Lady and children; and to the bravery of the two hundred *Lancashire* men he had the honour to command on that occasion, who all fought with equal ardour for the relief of their noble Lady Mistress, being all tenants and neighbours sons, raised, clothed, armed and trained by that valiant Earl, but ungenerously and disgracefully taken from him by the King at *Worcester*; whose weak and easy temper proved afterwards the ruin of himself and his brave and gallant subject the Earl of *Derby*; who once in all appearance had interest and power sufficient, if a right use had been made thereof, to have delivered his Majesty from the power and malice of all his enemies.

The Prince having obtained this seasonable victory over the rebels in *Bolton*, sent all the colours taken there by Sir *Richard Lane* to the Lady *Derby*, which her Ladyship received as a singular honour as well as comfort, and caused them to be hung up in *Latham-House*, as a happy remembrance of God's mercy and goodness to her and her family.

From this place, after some days rest, his Highness was prevailed upon to march to *Liverpool*, to reduce that town, where the enemy had a strong garrison, under the command of Colonel *Moor*, a worthy member of that rebellious junto, who sat at *Westminster*, and took upon them to order and direct all the public affairs and government of the kingdom.

An Account of the SIEGE and TAKING of
LIVERPOOL,

JUNE 26th, 1644.

UPON the Prince's arrival near *Liverpool*, he was informed that it was well fortified with a strong and high mud wall, and a ditch of twelve yards wide, and near three yards deep, inclosing the town from the east end of the street called *Dale-street*, and so northward to the river; and from *Dale-street* end, east and south-east, being a low marshy ground, was covered with water from the river, and batteries erected within to cover or guard against all passage over or through that water: All the street ends to the river were shut up, and those to the land inclosed with strong gates, defended by cannon: All useless women and children were sent to their friends in the country, on both sides the river: There was also a strong castle on the south, surrounded with a ditch of twelve yards wide, and ten yards deep, from which to the river was a covered way, through which the ditch was covered with water, and by which when the tide was out, they brought in men, provisions, and stores of war, as occasion required: In and upon this castle were planted many cannon, as well to annoy the besiegers at a distance, as to cover the ships in the harbour, which was then where the dock is now, and at the entrance whereof was a fort of eight guns to guard that, and to prevent all passages by the river side at low water; besides all these advantages of defence, there was one most unhappy circumstance to many distressed families, but very lucky to the besieged; for in those distracted confused and rebellious times, the *English* protestants had

had great numbers of them been massacred in *Ireland*, and those who escaped with life, obliged to fly to *England* for refuge and safety, bringing with them all the effects they possibly could for support, amongst which was great quantities of wool: The besieged covered the tops of their mud walls with bags of wool, which saved them greatly from the small shot of the besiegers. The garrison within was numerous, and stored with arms and ammunition of all kinds, and in this state thought themselves able to give the Prince a hearty welcome.

Liverpool is situate upon a ridge of land, on the east side of the river *Mersey*, running from the north side of the town for about a mile to the south thereof, where it falls to a flat; but in its form, for the most part, declines on the west side to the river, and on the east side to the country.

The town was at that time but small, either in appearance or reality to what it is now; however the fortifications of it then included most of all the town, as it is at present: the river is about a mile broad from bank to bank, and of depth sufficient for reception of the largest ships up to the town. The country near it is high land, which renders it unfit to sustain a long siege.

This made the Prince upon his near approach and view of the town, being unacquainted with its situation, (one side declining to the country, and the other to the river as before-mentioned, so that he could see but little of it) to compare it to a crow's nest; but ere he became master of it, he said it might have been an eagle's nest, or a den of lions.

He

He fixed his main camp round the beacon, a large mile from the town, and his officers in the villages near it, from whence he brought a detachment every day to open the trenches and erect batteries: The latter was mostly placed upon the ridge of ground running from the north of *Townsend Mill*, to the present copper works and mills, and the trenches in the lower grounds under them. He relieved his trenches and batteries from his camp every twenty-four hours, and from them he battered the town, and attacked the besieged and their works very frequently by way of storm, but was always repulsed with great slaughter of his soldiers for the space of a month or near it, when some say the besieged on the north side deserted the works and the guard of them; but other say that Colonel *Moor* observing they would be taken, to ingratiate himself with the Prince, and to save his house and effects at *Bank Hall* near it, gave directions to the soldiers to retreat from those works; but be that as it will, deserted they were on the north side, and the Prince's army entered the town on that side about three in the morning, and put all to the sword they met with, from their entrance to the *High-Cross*, which stood where the exchange is now; and there they found a regiment of soldiers from the castle, drawn up in battle array, who beat a parley and demanded quarter; which on treaty they were allowed, but without any other articles than prisoners of war and surrender of the castle, with their persons and arms; upon which they were all sent to the tower, St. *Nicholas'* church, &c. The Prince taking possession of the castle himself.

His

His Highness having reduced *Liverpool*, was intreated by Lord *Derby* to take *Latham-House* in his march to *York*, and there refresh himself and his men for a few days, which he was pleased to comply with; and on his coming to *Latham*, found that house most strangely shattered by the enemy's cannon and mortar pieces; however he was with all his chief commanders treated agreeably to the greatness of his person and merit, and with all the expressions of thankfulness by the Earl of *Derby* and his most renowned Lady, for his seasonable relief of them and their noble family.

The Prince having viewed, and well considered the commodious situation of *Latham-House*, and the strength of the towers, with their regular position for the defence of one another, and of the walls, &c. gave directions for adding to them bastions, counter-scarps, &c. and all other out works necessary for the better defence thereof upon another siege when it should happen; and then at the request of the Lady *Derby*, gave the government and keeping of the house to the care and conduct of Capt. *Edward Rowsthorn*, whom the Prince made colonel of a regiment of foot, and gave him two troops of horse for its defence.

Captain *Chiffenhall*, another of those brave commanders who had well deserved honour, not only in the siege of that house, but on other remarkable actions, was also by the Prince made colonel of a regiment of foot, and marched with his Highness to *York*.

The Prince having now recruited his army with men, arms, and ammunition, and all other necessities for his march, desired the Earl of *Derby* to return to his charge in the *Isle of Mann*; as being probably better

better acquainted with those undeserved jealousies and suspicions still subsisting against him, than the Prince himself was; and of the apprehensions some great ones about the King had of a misapplication of too much power entrusted with him who had so near an alliance to the crown, therefore urged the Earl to a compliance with his request, and to take his Lady and children with him, as not knowing yet what might be the issue or success of the war in *England*; adding that the children of such a father and such a mother, might in their generation become as useful and serviceable to their Prince as their parents had been.

Sometime after this the battle of *Marston-moor* being lost by the Prince, it was not long before the enemy, as expected, sat down again before *Latham-House*, which though strengthened with such out-works as the Prince had directed, was much weakened within by the consumption of their provisions by the Prince's army, and the want of powder and match, which his highness had borrowed for the supply of his army on their march from thence to *York*.

However, the new Governor Col. *Rowsthorn*, was neither wanting in care or diligence, nor in any good offices, for the supply of the garrison with provisions and all other necessaries for sustaining a siege; and it was a great advantage to him that the Earl of *Derby* on his return to the *Isle of Mann*, had left him in the house the chaplain, whose fidelity and great capacity his Lady had long and full experience of; and also another gentleman of good understanding and integrity to attend all his affairs in *England*, and both to be assisting to him the governor by their counsel and services,

services, and to raise what money they possibly could out of his estate for the constant payment of the soldiers: These two gentlemen made the best use of the opportunity they had whilst the house was open, and raised a very considerable sum of money, by which they furnished the garrison with provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries.

This being done, the governor disposed the soldiers to their respective officers: Commanders of horse were Major *Munday* and Capt. *Key*, and those of foot were Capt. *Charnock*, Capt. *Farrington*, Capt. *Molineux Radcliff*, Capt. *Henry Noel*, Capt. *Worrel*, and Capt. *Roby*.

By this time, being July, 1645, the enemy were again advanced with 4000 men to their head quarter at *Ormskirk*, under their old General *Egerton*: for *Rigby* upon the loss of his men at *Bolton* was laid aside: and upon the Governor Col. *Rowsthorn's* information of their advance and strength, he ordered out a strong party of horse and foot. The first was commanded by Major *Munday*, the foot by Capt. *Molineux Radcliff*, and the rear was brought up by the Governor himself; and in this order they attacked the enemy's camp and quarters with so much courage, resolution and bravery, that they took all the guards of the enemy both horse and foot, routed their whole body, of which they killed and took many, the general himself with difficulty escaping by flying away in his shirt and trowsers.

But that which was of greatest advantage to them, was the enemy's magazine of powder, which was taken and brought to *Latham*, and was their great increase

crease of store for support of the siege which afterwards ensued. In this exploit Colonel *John Tempest* who served only as a volunteer, did most worthy and excellent service; the Governor animated the whole action, and indeed exposed himself to more hazard and danger than he need to have done as commander in chief.

This gallant attempt and success so amazed the enemy, and encouraged the troops of *Latham*, that for three weeks, in which time the enemy were largely recruited, they continued masters of the field, and after braved the enemy every day in their quarters for twelve months together. But notwithstanding their great numbers and utmost endeavours, they were never able to advance nearer than *Ormskirk*, where they were in a manner as much besieged as the other were in *Latham House*.

But the ammunition of the garrison being now almost spent, and they out of hopes of recruiting their store from *Manchester*, &c. as formerly, and their intelligence with some friends there being discovered; they were obliged to suspend all action abroad, and suffer the enemy to make nearer approaches to the house, and confine them closer within their own bounds.

Major *Morgan* being the enemy's engineer, drew a line a flight shot from the house, as not intending either to batter or storm it, but only to hinder them from going abroad, and to straiten and prevent them from getting in provisions, or any other supplies.

The trench of his line was three yards wide and two yards deep, and upon the rampire of the ditch he
raised

raised eight strong forts, wherein their soldiers might lie with some security, and be able to relieve one another upon sallies from the house.

Upon the north side of the house, which was the lowest ground, he run a deep trench near the very mote, hoping thereby to lay it dry, and then to undermine the house; but there being within it some skilful colliers, who had as much experience in mining and drawing off water as he was master of, and they being employed by the Governor to oppose him, always wrought counter to him; and keeping full chambers of water above him, they at pleasure opened them, and drowned both his works and men to their entire disappointment and confusion.

And thus by the diligence, skill, and courage of the besieged, was this house full two years most gallantly and bravely defended against all the contrivance and force of the enemy: wherein by their own confession they lost at least 6000 men, and the garrison about 400.

The King himself was at this time upon his march, for the relief of his brave and loyal subjects in *Latham-House*, and with intent to have transferred the war to *Lancashire*, but was unhappily defeated at *Rowton-heath*, near *Chester*; upon which misfortune he gave orders to the Earl's chaplain before-mentioned, (whom he had sent for to give him a state of the house and country about it) to advertise the Governor that it was his Majesty's pleasure he should accept a treaty with the enemy, and endeavour to procure from them as good terms as they could possibly obtain, since it was not in his power to relieve them:—Small

comfort from the father of three kingdoms, to tell his children he was not able to succour them in their distress; which gives us a fatal instance of division in council, and the want of resolution and steady adherence to our best friends, which appears through the course of this history, and many others, to have been the true cause of the unhappy Prince here spoken of, who seems to have fallen under the observation of a learned poet, That,

The fortunate have whole years,

And those they choose;

But the unfortunate have only days,

And those they lose.

However, his Majesty's commission, by the chaplain, being got into the house, the governor like a wise and prudent commander, resolved to accept the first opportunity of a treaty which the enemy might offer; either induced thereto by their long service and severe sufferings in that memorable siege, or being ignorant of the true state of the place, which for ought they knew might be furnished with all necessaries for many month's resistance, and they despairing of success requested that commissioners might be appointed on both sides, to treat for a surrender.

Whereupon commissioners were accordingly appointed, and a place of meeting agreed upon, wherein those on the part of the besiegers offered, That if the Governor and officers with him, would surrender the house and all the cannon, they should be permitted to march away with bag and baggage, drums beating, and colours flying; and that the Lady *Derby* and her children, should enjoy the third part of the Earl's estate,

estate, for their maintenance ; and that all his goods should be safely conveyed to his other house at *Knowsley*, and there secured for his Lordship and family's use ; that all gentlemen in the house should compound at one year's value for their estates ; and that every clergyman in the house should enjoy half the revenue of his living, and should live quietly, without any oath imposed upon them.

These terms were judged reasonable by two of the commissioners appointed by the garrison, but the third would by no means consent, unless they might take away the cannon also, whose indiscretion and obstinate perverse humour, broke off the treaty, to the ruin of the besieged ; for that very night, after the return of the commissioners, an *Irish* soldier in the garrison went down by the wall, and swimming over the mote, got to the enemy's camp, and immediately informed the commanding officers there that the rejection of their proposals, and the breaking of the treaty were highly displeasing to the garrison, that there was not bread in the house for two days nor any other provisions or stores to hold out the siege any longer.

Upon this information, the enemy next morning summoned the garrison to an immediate surrender of the house and themselves prisoners, upon the bare terms of mercy, which the soldiers, being all in confusion, resolved to accept of, notwithstanding all intreaties to the contrary, who gallantly and bravely proposed to them to join him and fight their way through the enemy sword in hand, and either by means to save themselves with honour and reputation,

or bravely die in the attempt: But the worthy and valiant Governor, not being heard by them, the house was yielded up to a merciless enemy, and all the rich goods therein, became a booty to them. The rich silk hangings of the beds, &c. were torn to pieces and made fashes of; the towers and all the strong works razed to the ground and demolished, and all the buildings within it, leaving only standing two or three little timber buildings, as a monument of their fury and malice.

And thus was ruined and brought to destruction, (partly by the obstinacy and indiscretion of one man, and the treachery of another) even to a cottage or heap of rubbish, the ancient, noble, and almost invincible House of *Latham*, whose antiquity, famous siege, and most heroic and gallant defence, can never be forgot whilst history remains in the world.

No more ought to be buried in oblivion the heroic and most gallant behaviour of those brave and martial spirits, who were instrumental and assisting in the ever-memorable defence of that place: And although none of them (except Capt. *Farmer*, Major *Munday*, and Capt. *Key*) were bred in a military way, (except as a county militia) yet it may with modesty and justice be asserted, that no officers of any degree bred in the school of *Mars* or elsewhere, ever shewed more conduct, courage, or magnanimity than those brave and worthy gentlemen (to their honour and everlasting fame be it recorded) that defended *Latham House*, against the powerful attacks of a formidable enemy, assisted by a far superior force, and an open country for supply,

The

The Prince having before this time refreshed and recruited his army (by the assistance of Lord *Derby*) with men, arms, and ammunition, proper for his march to *York*, urged that brave Lord to return to his charge in the *Isle of Mann*, to which his Lordship complied.

Having now given the reader the particulars of the memorable siege and surrender of *Latham House*, dispatched his Highness Prince *Rupert* to the relief of *York*, and sent by his advice the noble Earl of *Derby* and his most worthy family as exiles to the *Isle of Mann*. I cannot omit a few thoughts and animadversions upon these subjects.

As to the Prince's advice and intention to the noble Earl and his family, I look upon that as sincere and without guile, but the reasons offered us to induce it, I esteem no less than mere chimera and court-cant, calculated with no other view or intent than to asperse, degrade, and vilify that noble Lord, and to fix upon and stigmatize him with infamy and disgrace, as a person carrying on private designs and views of his own interest, separate from those of his royal master.

And in this light I have inspected and considered the actions and conduct of his whole life, as well before as since the commencement of the unhappy war then subsisting, and I cannot discover in the course of it, the least inclination or tendency in any of his actions, to aggrandize himself or family at the expence of his Prince's honour, interest or safety; but on the contrary, that he had, agreeable to the tender made by him to his Majesty at *York*, at his first appearance there, assisted him to the utmost of his

his power, with his person, interest and fortune, to the entire consumption of the latter, and in the end the total destruction of the first.

But let us go yet a little further and consider that frightful article of his near alliance to the crown, as one reason given us for his exclusion from all favour, power, or trust under the King, and having duly weighed the nature thereof, we shall find it as light upon the balance as the former, consisting more in imagination than reality ; more in pride, envy, malice, calumny, and court faction, than any evil designs or intentions, of the noble Lord here accused, villified, and contemned by the court parasites ; who being in favour, power or trust with the Prince admit of no rivals, and that calumny, defamation, and detraction, are with them esteemed fashionable and courtly accomplishments.

Lastly, let us consider that the latent and dormant title of the crown by the Earl of *Derby*, on which so much stress appears to be laid, was at that time postponed and removed to so great a distance, that nothing less than downright rebellion could have revived or supported his pretensions, if any. Add thereto the ancestors of the royal family now on the throne being then in full life, nay one of them then his Majesty's General, the King himself having then issue both male and female, which rendered any project or attempt of this utterly impracticable ; and the most loyal endeavours of the great Lord *Derby* to promote his Majesty's interest and services, plainly contradict and give the lie to all those invidious, malicious, and scandalous suggestions and insinuations, spread by the enemies of that noble personage.

That

That like causes usually produce the same or like effects, is an established rule with respect to men as well as things, from whence it is observed, that those favourites who have advanced themselves at court by mere dint of address, and by mean, unmanly and unbecoming arts of flattery and fawning sedulity, (unknown and scorned by men of real abilities,) have been always fatal to the nation; and that where the actions and resolutions of men of integrity, loyalty and real ability to serve the Prince and country, have been discouraged and treated with indignity and contempt: The peace, unity, and welfare of the whole hath generally suffered violent convulsions and uncommon changes, if not the total ruin of the Prince, as is the case before us.

And with respect to the great and noble Lord here treated of, who may be esteemed of the number of those, discouraged and treated with contempt by his Prince, or the sycophant courtiers about him, or both: He acted steadily and zealously, on principles of liberty and the common good of mankind. He maintained them in all seasons, and was ashamed to be at ease while his King and country suffered, and the vigour with which he exerted himself against those to whom both owed their sufferings (unhappily to him and his noble family) brought on his own, much to be lamented, hard fate well known to the world.

Having just left the famous house of *Latham* in these, I have only to remark that many curious and notable transactions occurred during the siege thereof: that could not properly be related in the common course of this story, but however, well deserve to be remembered

remembered, and I doubt not but the knowledge of them will be as acceptable to the reader as those of the siege.

Amongst the officers, the brave and gallant Capt. *Molineux Ratcliff*, merits perpetual remembrance for his most valiant services ; who commanded the van in twelve sallies, and always brought off his men with success, but at last this gallant gentleman had the misfortune to be slain in storming a fort of the enemy's.

Capt. *Charles Ratcliff*, Capt. *Henry Noel*, Capt. *Roby*, and Capt. *Worral*, all behaved themselves with the greatest courage and resolution, and deserved better recompence than the King's affairs would allow them to expect.

Major *Munday* and Capt. *Key*, who commanded the horse, were certainly no way inferior to any officers of horse in the King's army : a specimen of which immediately follows.

Major *Munday*, during the siege, being challenged to fight his troop against so many of the enemy, cheerfully accepted the challenge : Both troops were drawn out into the park, in the sight of the house and the enemy's army ; in the engagement the Major received a shot in the side of his face, by which an artery being cut, bled excessively, upon which he desired the Lieutenant to make good the fight until he got the artery sewed up. The fight was made good till the Major returned, and then upon the first charge the enemy fled, and he took most of the troop prisoners. This brave and worthy gentleman, who after the siege of *Latham*, had retired to his own country, and returning into *England* again with his Majesty King

Charles

Charles II. when he marched from *Scotland* to *Worcester*, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the merciless rebels, and being known by them, was for his bravery shot to death in cold blood.

Capt. *Key* being also challenged by a trumpet from the enemy, to fight hand to hand on horseback, with Capt. *Asmall*, a captain of the adverse party, accepted the challenge. Both troops met in the park, and stood aloof whilst the Captains fought single. In the engagement Capt. *Asmall* having discharged both his pistols at Capt. *Key* without much effect, Capt. *Key* immediately rode up to him, and thrust him thro' the neck with his javelin, on which he fell down dead from his horse; Capt. *Key* alighting, took him up in the face of his own troop, and flung him upon his own horse, and brought him into the house, upon which Capt. *Key's* Lieutenant offered to fight *Asmall's* Lieutenant, hand to hand, or troop to troop, but they refused the offer, and fled to their main body.

The Rev. and worthy Chaplain of the house, Mr. *Rafter*, managed all correspondence and intelligence by cyphers and characters: Wherein he first made use of a woman, one widow *Read*, of that neighbourhood, to bring in and carry out dispatches of that nature, by the assistance of fallies appointed for the purpose, upon a signal given by her to the house when she wanted to come in.

This secret and most hazardous service she most faithfully carried on for above a year, but was at last most unhappily taken with cyphers about her: Some for his Majesty King *Charles*, some for the Lord *Byron*, at *Chester*, and others to some correspondence at *Manchester*: Upon which she was required to tell to whom

those characters at *Manchester* were directed, (for the enemy could not discover or interpret them) but she stoutly denied and refused to confess any thing relating to them, then she was threatened with severe punishment if she would not declare what she knew of them, but she still persisting in her integrity, she was then burnt with matches betwixt her fingers, so long, that three fingers of each hand were burnt off, yet the woman beyond the resolution of her sex, or of any woman upon record, suffered all those tortures with invincible patience, and would discover nothing.

The worthy Chaplain who I acquainted you before had managed all the intelligence of the house, having lost his old friend the widow *Read*, who had most faithfully served him in that way to her death, after some time found another expedient, by means of a hound dog which he observed frequently to come and go betwixt his master in *Latham House* and his mistress about three miles off, got private notice to the gentlewoman, that as oft as the dog came home she should look about his neck, and she would find a thread with a little paper wrapt about it, which he requested she would send to his Majesty; and when any papers were sent to her to come into the house, directed that she would tie them in like manner about the dog's neck, and keep him awhile hungered, then open the door and beat him out.

And thus the poor dog being beaten backward and forward, conveyed all intelligence into and from the house for nine months together; till, at last leaping over the enemy's works in his way to the house, an angry ill-natured soldier shot him, but he got to the
mote

note hide near the gate with his dispatches, and there died, by which Mr. *Rutter* lost his useful servant the dog.

However, though he could not contrive to furnish himself in the same way, yet he found out another expedient to answer near the same ends, but with greater advantage to the garrison; for by a correspondence he had formed with some trusty and hearty friends of the neighbourhood, they had agreed to make fires in the night upon the rising grounds at a distance from the house as signals, that corn, meal, and other provisions, were there laid ready for the besieged, and upon the appearance of those signals, the Governor sent out thirty or forty soldiers by way of sally to fetch them into the House, who being directed by those fires always found what they wanted, and the night following brought them to the garrison.

On other nights different soldiers were sent on the same errand; who by their instructions, care and diligence, never failed of success: And by this means the garrison was constantly supplied, until they were so closely confined by the enemy, and their numbers in the house declining so much, that they were not able to make their usual sallies for relief as before, which reduced them to the scarcity related at the time of their surrender.

But what may be greatly admired (even with wonder and surprise) was, that not one of all those soldiers sent out on those desperate occasions, and venturing their lives for a little bread, with which they were to fight their way into the house, for the relief of themselves and friends, ever deserted the service or staid out

out of time; but constantly returned with their fellows at the times expected, and were received and treated by their commanders with generosity, and the justice due to their courage, merit and fidelity.

The allowance of corn, meal, &c. thus brought into the house, was distributed and divided in the most equal manner from the Governor to the meanest soldier: three quarters of a pound was weighed to each man alike, the horses that were killed in the service they broiled upon coals, and frequently eat, without either bread or salt.

That which proved a great relief to them was plenty of fuel, for the colliers being set to dig by way of trial found coals and water both in abundance within the house to their comfort, the water in the mote being spoiled and rendered unfit for use by the enemy.

There was amongst the soldiers about fifty pounds in money, but of no use at all to them but to play at *Span-counter* with; they lent it to one another by handfuls, never telling or counting any. One day one soldier had all, and the next another, 'till at last all their sport was spoiled, the enemy at the gate stript them of every penny, and turned them out to the wide world.

When the house was given up, there were but two hundred and nine foot soldiers in it, and of all their horse but five left alive, the rest being all eaten up. The common soldiers were all discharged as before, but their gallant and brave commanders were all made close prisoners, and so continued a long time after.

Having now as I promised, given the reader all the remarkable transactions and occurrences I have been

able

able to collect or be informed of, attending the famous siege of *Latham House*, from the beginning to the end, and also noted the eminent conduct, courage, and memorable behaviour of those brave and worthy gentlemen who engaged themselves in the defence thereof; I am now arrived at a period of time, wherein I find the whole kingdom involved in the greatest disorder and distraction, portending nothing less than the ruin or destruction of the whole constitution in church and state.

The very face and appearance of all public and even private affairs being quite changed, the whole nation in a general and most deplorable state of confusion and distraction: Nothing being known or heard of but imprisonments, persecutions, sequestrations, and executions of his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful friends, subjects and servants.

Upon information of these tidings (as his Lordship's Memoirs continue) I enquired further how affairs stood with the King, and was told that his Majesty's army under the command of his nephew Prince *Rupert* was entirely defeated and dispersed at *Marston-moor*, by the Earl of *Manchester*; and that not long after the King himself was vanquished and totally routed at *Naseby*, the 14th of June, 1645, the loss whereof reduced him to a most unhappy situation of life, having not so much as a common guard left him for the security of his person, being obliged to fly from place to place with the utmost privacy, to prevent his being taken prisoner; and not knowing where to go for safety and protection from his furious and inveterate enemies, at last unhappily fell a sacrifice into

into their hands, being seized by a party of *Cromwell's* soldiers, and carried by them prisoner to *Hurst Castle*, and from thence hurried from prison to prison, till at last he was brought to a formal trial before a court established by his own subjects, who accused him of having made war against his Parliament, and had him condemned and beheaded, upon a scaffold raised under the windows of his palace of *Whitehall*, on Tuesday the 30th of January, 1648.

A shocking scene of iniquity and usurpation, the very thoughts whereof one would have thought were sufficient to have melted the heart of the most hardened and abandoned wretch concerned in such iniquitous and barbarous proceedings, as the destruction of their natural and rightful prince, and the extirpation of his royal family to the utmost of their power.

But the goodness of our gracious God is ever with them that love and fear him, and although he is the protector and support of all under oppression and distress, yet sometimes he postpones the punishment for great and wise reasons unknown to us; yet to shew the power of his wrath, and his care of the innocent and distressed, sooner or later his avenging hand will overtake all wicked and evil doers, as observed by a learned author* in the case before us; that not only those very persons immediately concerned in the murder of that King, and in all the confusions the nation was involved in by their means, were in a short time reduced to a state of contempt, and their posterity branded with ignominy and disgrace, attended with their utter extirpation from the face of the earth,

scarcely

* History of Independency.

scarcely one of them being left or known in the world at this time.

But what remains to be much lamented, is that the mischief, misery, and persecution of those virulent times ended not here. The Prince of *Wales* being then in exile, those rebellious sons of perdition called the Parliament, published a prohibition against proclaiming him King, with a penalty of punishment as in cases of high treason, and afterwards passed an act for abolishing the regal power as useless, burthensome, and dangerous; and soon after set a price upon the head of *Charles Stuart*, the late King's eldest son.

And under this melancholy, dejected, and uncomfortable state, the nation languished in misery persecution, and deep distress, to the year 1650; when the Scots took up arms in favour of *Charles II.* whom they had recalled in order to set him upon the throne of his father, and who was arrived there, and his coronation soon after solemnized at *Scoon*, the 1st of January, 1650-1; and afterwards he put himself at the head of an army of 15,000 foot and 3000 horse, and with them entered *England*, and proceeded as far as *Worcester*, where he was honourably received.

During the interval of time betwixt Lord and Lady *Derby* and their families retiring to the *Isle of Mann*, and the King's execution, many particulars occurred, to wit, the rebels re-possessed themselves of all places of strength, and the castle of *Liverpool* in particular, whereof the worthy Col. *Birch* was made Governor. In the year 1646, the Parliament moved with the tears, cries, and prayers of the distressed wives, widows, and fatherless children of their fellow subjects, and
even

even relations, made an ordinance for their relief. And in 1647, encouraged by the said ordinance and order, the children of the Earl of *Derby* having procured a pass from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* for that purpose, came over from the *Ile of Mann* to *England*, to procure a fifth part of their father's estate for their support and education, according to the aforesaid ordinance, and after a year's solicitation obtained an allowance of a fifth thereof, and were at last permitted to their father's house at *Knowsley*, wherein Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had been very civil and generous, as indeed he was upon all occasions, in a gentleman-like manner; but envy and malice are enemies that never sleep; for they had not been there above twelve months before Col. *Birch* complying with *Bradshaw*, the bloody President, made them all prisoners at *Liverpool*, where he was then Governor, and all their servants with them, not allowing any one of them one morsel of bread, which they were obliged to beg for from their impoverished friends, and other kind and compassionate acquaintance; and all the pretence for this cruel, unchristian, and barbarous usage, was, that the Earl their father kept the *Ile of Mann* against the Parliament, though it was his own estate.

Upon which General *Fairfax* being addressed and complained to by the unhappy sufferers, sent a message in writing to the Earl their father purporting; "That if his Lordship would deliver that Island to the Parliament's commands, his children should not only be set at liberty, but he should peaceably return to *England*, and enjoy one moiety of all his estate." To which his Lordship returned this answer. "That he was greatly
afflicted

afflicted for the sufferings of his children ; that it was not the course of great and noble minds to punish innocent children for their father's offences ; that it would be a clemency in Sir *Thomas Fairfax* either to send them back to him, or to *Holland*, or to *France* ; but if he could do none of these, his children must submit to the mercy of God Almighty, but should never be redeemed by his disloyalty : and thus they continued prisoners for eighteen months together, without compassion, mercy, or relief from the Parliament, or any of their hard hearted, unrelenting officers, until their father was by his Majesty's command called from the *Isle of Mann* to attend him in *Lancashire*, on his march from *Scotland* to *Worcester* as aforesaid, whereof *Birch* being informed, and fearing his Lordship would knock at his gates for his children, sent them and their servants away prisoners to *Chester*.

The noble Earl being called into *England* by King *Charles II.* to meet him in *Lancashire*, with full assurance from his Majesty, that not only his own party, but the presbytery also would join him, in order to his Majesty's restoration in *England*. His Lordship accordingly brought with him above 300 gallant gentlemen, who were at that time with his Lordship in the *Isle of Mann* ; and though his Lordship made all possible speed to have met the King in *Lancashire*, yet it so happened, that his Majesty had marched through that country three days before he could get over, but had left Major-General *Masse*y to receive him.

Upon notice whereof his Lordship hastened to *Warington*, where he met the Major-General, who that very night brought in many of the presbyterian party

to his Lordship; to whom his Lordship addressing himself, acquainted them that he was come from the *Iſle of Mann*, to do his Maſteſty all the ſervice in his power; that the King had given him his aſſurance under his own hand, (of which he gave them a ſight) that all thoſe gentlemen of that perſuaſion would be ready to join with him; that he was to that end ready to receive whoever were pleaſed to come to him, and with them to march immediately to his Maſteſty.

To this one of their miniſters, in behalf of himſelf and the reſt of his brethren, replied to his Lordſhip: "That he hoped, and ſo did all the gentlemen with him, that his Lordſhip would put away all the papists he had brought from the *Iſle of Mann*, and that he himſelf would take the covenant, and then they would all join with him." To this his Lordſhip replied, "Sir, I hope this is only your own opinion, and therefore I deſire that the gentlemen preſent will be pleaſed to deliver their own ſentiments;" when all made answer, "That their miniſter had ſpoken their thoughts: adding, that his Maſteſty had taken the covenant, and thereby gave encouragement to all his ſubjects to do the ſame; and that if his Lordſhip would not put away all papists, and enter publicly into the ſolemn league, they could not join him."

To this his Lordſhip replied, "That upon theſe terms he might long ſince have been reſtored to his whole eſtate, and that bleſſed martyr *Charles I.* to all his kingdom. That he came not now to diſpute but to fight for his Maſteſty's reſtoration, and would upon the iſſue of the firſt battle, humbly ſubmit himſelf to his Maſteſty's direction in that point; that he would uſe none of any perſuaſion whatſoever, that came cheerfully

cheerfully to serve the King ; and hoped thy would give him the same freedom and latitude, to engage whom he could for his Majesty's preservation, and that he was well assured, that all those gentlemen he had brought with him were sincere and honest friends to his Majesty's person and interest."

To the same effect Major General *Massey* seconded his Lordship, wherein he made use of the strongest arguments and exhortations to lay aside all animosities, and depart from their former mistakes ; and by his and other examples embrace this opportunity which God had put into their hands, and to join heartily with the Earl of *Derby* in manifestation of their own duty and loyalty, and the vindication of themselves from all attempts or intention of usurpation that they were suspected of, and then lay upon them.

But the whole party insisted peremptorily upon their demands, to have all the papists disbanded, and the Earl of *Derby* to take the covenant, without which they would not join the Earl ; who perceiving it was in vain to press them any further upon that subject, the old leaven having taken too much effect, and soured them too far to be sweetened by any arguments or reasonings whatsoever ; therefore his Lordship only added before parting,—“ Gentlemen, if you will be persuaded to join with me, I make no doubt but in a few days to raise as good an army to follow the King as that he has now with him, and by God's blessing to shake off the yoke of bondage resting upon both you and us ; if not, continued he, I cannot hope to effect much ; I may perhaps have men enough at my command, but all the arms are in your possession, without which

which I shall only lead naked men to slaughter ; however I am determined to do what I can with the handful of gentlemen now with me for his Majesty's service ; and if I perish, I perish ; but if my master suffer, the blood of another Prince and all the ensuing miseries of this nation will lie at your doors." Upon which his Lordship took horse, having with him only the worthy gentlemen that came from the *Isle of Mann*, and some few of the royal party that were come in to him.

His Lordship on resting awhile sent out his warrants, for all persons willing to serve his Majesty under him forthwith to repair to him at *Preston*, the place appointed for their rendezvous. These warrants were secretly dispersed in all the chief towns in the county, and many came to him from all parts ; but before he could possibly raise and accoutre a sufficient number, Col. *Lilbourn*, then in the county with 1800 dragoons, and the foot militia of *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*, were got to *Manchester* and marching directly against Lord *Derby* ; his Lordship had at that time about six hundred horse, and being informed the enemy were near him, trusting to the goodness of his cause, and the courage and resolution of those with him, he resolved with these to engage that great body of the enemy ; therefore gave orders to march forthwith to *Wigan*, a most faithful and loyal town to his Majesty, and there to expect the enemy.

But unhappily and unexpectedly to him, *Lilbourn* having made long marches, had, before his Lordship could reach the town, lined the hedges with his foot, and engaged his Lordship's troops in *Wigan-Lane* ;
however,

however, the Earl still held on his march in very good order, and in continual expectation of an engagement, when approaching near the enemy, he caused his troops to halt so long as to give them his orders, then divided his horse into two bodies, about three hundred in each; the van he commanded himself, and gave the rear to Sir *Thomas Tyldefley*, and then sounded a charge.

Twice his Lordship and all his party made their way clear through the whole body of the enemy; but attempting it a third time, and being oppressed and environed by unequal numbers, the Lord *Witherington*, Sir *Thomas Tyldefley*, and many other brave and worthy gentlemen, were slain: Sir *Throgmorton*, Knight Marshal, was left among the dead, but taken up by a poor woman, and relieved by that worthy Knight Sir *Robert Bradshaw*.

His Lordship had two horses killed under him, and was seconded and remounted both times by a faithful servant, a Frenchman, who there lost his life by his master's side; in the third charge, upon the fall of Lord *Witherington*, his Lordship mounted his horse, and being seconded by six gentlemen of his party, he with them fought his way through a great body of the enemy into the town; where his Lordship quitting his horse, leaped in at a door that stood open, and immediately shut it before the enemy could reach it, and the woman of the house kept it shut until such time that his Lordship was conveyed to a place of privacy, where he lay concealed for many hours, notwithstanding the most industrious search of the enemy.

Of the six hundred gentlemen with his Lordship,
he

he lost at least the half, himself having received seven shots upon his breast-plate. and thirteen cuts upon his beaver which he wore over a cap of steel, which was taken up in the lane after the battle. He also received five or six slight wounds in his arms and shoulders, but none very dangerous. Perhaps this age has not seen or known an action of greater bravery, where 600 horse fought 3000 horse and foot, in a disadvantageous place for two hours together, leaving 700 dead upon the spot, besides the wounded, with the loss of 300 only.

His Lordship having got his wounds privately dressed, and furnished with a disguise, that very night about two o'clock, attended only with three servants began his journey towards *Worcester*, whether he came before the battle there; and though his wounds were green and sore, he attended his Majesty through the whole fight, behaving therein with his usual and accustomed gallantry.

That battle being unluckily lost on the third of September, 1651, his Lordship conducted his Majesty with safety to a friend's house, yet famous for the Royal-Oak, where his Lordship had been kindly treated on his journey to *Worcester*, and there having happily disposed of his Majesty in great security, his Lordship prepared for his return, being accompanied by the Lord *Lautherdale* and about forty more; who taking their march through bye-ways to get into *Cheshire* and *Lancashire* had the misfortune to fall in the way of a regiment of foot and a troop of horse of the enemy, commanded by Major *Edge*, who were marching towards *Worcester*: After some small dispute with that party, the Earl and his companions making themselves

themselves known, had quarter given for life, and condition for honourable usage upon giving up their arms and submitting themselves to be their prisoners.

This great and valiant person being now in his enemies' hands, *Bradshaw*, *Rigby*, and *Birch*, design him to be a victim to their inveterate malice; *Bradshaw*, because he had denied him the Vice-Chamberlain's place at *Chester*, preferring Mr. *Bridgeman*, now Lord *Bridgeman*, before him; *Rigby*, because of his ill success before *Latham House* and *Bolton*; and *Birch*, because his Lordship had trailed him under a hay-cart at *Manchester*, by which he got, even among his own party, the deserved epithet of the Earl of *Derby's* carrier. These three assisted by Sir *Richard Houghton*, a rebellious son of a very loyal father, Sir *Gilbert Houghton*, carver to his Majesty, representing to *Cromwell* how unsafe it would be not only to that country, but the whole nation, to suffer that man to live; got a commission to try him by a pretended court-martial, that is by twelve sequestrators and committee men. During the preparation for this unjust and undeserved trial, his Lordship wrote to his Lady then in the *Isle of Mann*.

LORD DERBY'S LETTER TO HIS LADY,

After he was taken, and Prisoner at Chester.

My dear Heart,

IT hath been my misfortune since I left you, not to have one line of comfort to you, which hath been more afflictive to me; and this, and what I now further write you, must be a mass of many things in one.

I will

I will not stay long on particulars, but in short inform you that the King is dead, or narrowly escaped in disguise, whether, not yet known. All the noble of the party killed or taken, save a few; and it matter not much where they be. The common soldiers are dispersed, some in prison, some sent to other nations and none like to serve any more on the same score. I escaped a great danger at *Wigan*, but met with worse at *Worcester*; being not so fortunate as to meet with any that would kill me, and thereby have put me out of the reach of envy and malice. Lord *Lautherdale* and I having escaped, hired horses, and falling into the enemy's hands, were not thought worth killing, but had quarter given us by one Capt *Edge*, a *Lancashire* man; and one that was so civil to me, that I and all that love me, are beholden to him.

I thought myself happy in being sent prisoner to *Chester*, where I might have the comfort of seeing my two daughters, and to find means of sending to you; but I fear my coming here may cost me dear, unless Almighty God in whom I trust, will please to help me some other way; but whatsoever come of me I have peace in my own breast, and no discomfort at all but the afflictive sense I have of your grief, and that of my poor children.

Colonel *Duckenfield*, Governor of this town, is going according to his orders from the Parliament General to the *Isle of Mann*, where he will make known unto you his business.

I have considered your condition and my own, and thereupon give you this advice. Take it not as from a prisoner, for I am never so close confined, my heart

at my own, free still as the best, and I scorn to be compelled to your prejudice: though by the severest tortures. I have procured *Baggerley*, who was prisoner in this town, to come over to you with my letter, I have told him my reasons, and he will tell them to you, which done, may save the spilling of blood in that Island, and it may be of some here, dear to you, but of that take no care; neither treat at all, for I perceive it will do you more hurt than good.

Have a care my dear soul of yourself, and of my dear *Moll*, *Ned*, and *Billy*; as for those here I will give them the best advice I can; it is not with us as heretofore. My son with his spouse, and my nephew *Stanley*, have come to see me; of them all I will say nothing at this time, excepting that my son shews great affection, and is gone to *London*, with exceeding concern and passion for my good. He is changed much for the better, I thank God, and would have been a greater comfort to me, if I could have left him more, or if he had provided better for himself.

The discourse I have had here of the *Isle of Mann*, has produced the inclosed, or at least such desires of mine as I hope *Baggerley* will deliver to you upon oath to be mine; and truly as matters go, it will be the best for you to make condition for yourself, children, and friends, in the manner as we have proposed, or as you can further agree with Col. *Duckenfield*, who being so much a gentleman born, will doubtless for his own honour deal fairly with you.

You know how much that place is my darling, but since it is God's will to dispose in the manner it is, and of this nation and *Ireland* too, there is nothing further

to be said of the *Iſle of Mann*, but to refer all to the will of God ; and to procure the beſt conditions you can for yourſelf, and our poor family and friends there, and thoſe that came over with me ; and ſo truſting in the aſſiſtance and goodneſs of God, begin the world again, though near to winter, whoſe cold and piercing blaſts are much more tolerable than the malicious approaches of a poiſoned ſerpent, or an inveterate or malign enemy ; from whoſe power the Lord of heaven bleſs and preſerve you. God Almighty comfort you, and my poor children, and the ſon of God, whoſe blood was ſhed for our good, preſerve your lives ; that by the good will and mercy of God we may meet once more on earth, and at laſt in the kingdom of heaven ; where we ſhall be for ever free from all rapine, plunder, and violence, and ſo I reſt everlaſtingly,

Your moſt faithful,

DERBY."

By this time the judges were appointed, and the court formed for the trial of the noble Earl of *Derby* at *Cheſter* ; *Mackworth*, of *Shrewsbury*, being Preſident ; Major *Mitton*, *Robert Duckenfield*, *Henry Bradshaw*, *Thomas Croxton*, and *George Twiſleton*, Colonels ; *Henry Birkenhead*, *Simon Finch*, and *Alexander Newton*, Lieutenant Colonels ; *James Stopford*, *Samuel Smith*, *John Downes*, *John Dolves*, *John Griffith*, *Thomas Portington*, *Edward Alcock*, *Ralph Powell*, *Richard Grantham*, *Edward Stolfax*, and *Vinent Corbett*, Captains.

THE

THE DEFENCE

OF THE

Right Hon. James Earl of Derby,

On his Trial for Life at Chester, before a Court Martial, composed of Sequestrators and Committee Men afore-mentioned; he being allowed neither Council nor Books in Court for his assistance; addressed himself to the President in manner following.

“ SIR,

“ I understand myself to be convened before you, as well by a commission from your General, as by an act of parliament, of the twelfth of August last.

“ To the articles exhibited against me, I have given a full and ingenuous answer. What may present itself for my advantage I have gained liberty to offer and urge by advice, and I doubt not but in a matter of law, the court will be to me instead of council.

“ Sir, First I shall observe to you, the nature and general order of a court-martial, and the laws and actions of it as far as concerns my case, and then shall apply my plea to such orders.

“ And therefore I conceive (under favour) that the laws of court-martial are as the laws of nature and nations, equally binding all persons military, and to be observed inviolably.

“ And there it is, if a judgment be given in one court-martial, there is no appeal to any other court-martial. Of which court-martial, the civil law gives a plentiful account,

“ But

“ But because it is one only point of martial law, which I am to insist upon for my life, I shall name it, and debate the just right of it, as quarter for life, given by Capt. *Edge*; which I conceive to be a good bar to a trial for life by a council of war.

“ That quarter was given me, if scrupled, I am ready to prove; and that it is pleadable, is above dispute. I shall only remove one objection, which is, that though this is a court-martial, yet the special nature of it is directed by Parliament.

“ To this I answer, though the Parliament directed the trial as it is, yet, it is to be considered as a court-martial, which cannot divest itself nor is divested of its own nature, by any such direction. For to appoint a court-martial to proceed by any other laws than a court-martial can, is a repugnancy in *natura rei*.

“ So as such a court-martial retains its own proper laws and jurisdiction for the support of itself; so the pleas and liberties incident to it, cannot be denied to the prisoner.

“ That quarter, and such quarter as I had given me, is a good plea for life to a council of war: I shall not endeavour so much to evince by authors, that being the proper work of the learned in civil law; but by such way as we call *jus gentium*, is proved by common practice and strong reasons.

“ For the first, I shall not need to bring foreign instances, being before you, whose experience hath made this thing familiar to you.

“ And I believe you will agree with me, that I am not only the first peer, but the first tried man by a court-martial after quarter given; unless some matter,

a post facto; or subsequent to such quarter, brought them within the examination of such court-martial. And (as I am informed) upon the great trial of the Earl of *Cambridge*, Lord *Capell*, Earl of *Holland*, &c. the plea of quarter being strongly urged, it was only avoided upon this ground, that it was no good plea against a civil jurisdiction; there being no colour of dispute tacitly admitted, and concluded that it was a good plea against a military jurisdiction.

"And though Lord *Capell*, and Lord *Goring's* quarter, seemed to have some advantage, as being given by the General, and by way of articles; yet the quarter given to the Earl of *Cambridge*, was given him by a particular Captain, and that quarter (as quarter considered) as strong as the other; only both avoided by the civil jurisdiction, it being a rule in war, that quarter hath as much force being given in action, as articles in a cessation, both irreversable by any military power. And though it be a maxim in politics, that no General or soldier's concession shall prejudice the state interest, yet they shall be bars to their power.

"I confess I love the law of peace, more than that of war; yet in this case I must adhere to those of war. And I would only know, whether quarter was given me for a benefit or for a mischief; if for a benefit, I am now to have it made good; if for a mischief, it destroys the faith of all men in arms.

"And I have read this for a maxim in war, that promises made by Kings and state commanders, ought to be observed inviolably, or else there never will be any yielding. And I shall lay this before you as a rule,
that

that quarter given by the meanest soldier (if not forbidden) obliges as far as if the general had done it himself.

“ It may be objected then, that it may rest in the power of any private soldier by giving quarter to pardon treason. To this I say, I plead it not as an absolute pardon, but as a bar to a court martial; and here I shall infer farther from conclusion of treasons,

“ The profession of a soldier hath danger enough in it, and he need not add any thing to it to destroy the right of arms.

“ I am before you as a court-martial, it may be, some or most of you have in some action or other since the troubles began, received quarter for your lives; then would it not be a hard measure, that any court-martial should try you afterwards.

“ If this quarter be foiled or nulled, all the treaties, articles, terms or conclusions, since the war began, may be examinable by any subsequent court-martial.

“ Nay, more than this, the sword, the law of arms, all military interest, and your own safety is judged and jeopardied as well as mine.

“ But I shall not multiply, presuming you will not judge by laws of war, in which capacity only you sit; and that your religion and common justice allow that plea, which is universally even in all parts of the world allowable.

“ If you be dissatisfied, I pray (that as an essential to justice) I may have a Doctor of the civil law assigned, or at least have liberty to produce their books of opinions; and that in the interim you suspend your sentence,

“ Touching

"Touching levying forces in the *Isle of Mann*, and invading *England*; I myself (and that truly) be a stranger to all the acts for treason, and in particular to the acts of the twelfth of August.

"And that the *Isle of Mann* is not particularly named in any of the acts touching treason; and being not particularly named, those acts reach it not, nor bind those of that Island.

"And especially, that I was not in the *Isle of Mann* when the last act was made; and the law looks not backward, and while I was in *England* I was under an unlikelihood, and even impossibility of knowing the new acts. And in martial law, *ignoranti juris* is a good plea, which I leave to judgment; having as to matter of fact confessed and submitted to the mercy of the Parliament.

"I do as to your military power earnestly plead quarter, as a bar to your further trial of me; and doubt not but you will deeply weigh a point so considerable both to your consciences and concernments, before you proceed to sentence, and admit my appeal to his excellency Lord General *Cromwell*, in this single point."

Upon this the court without considering whether his plea against the power of the court-martial, after quarter was given by a field officer, was good or no, a defence allowed in all civil nations; was yet over-ruled by that bench of sequestrators, who were altogether acted and influenced by *Bradshaw* and his confederates, summed up his crimes in the following articles, (to wit.) "That he had traitourously borne arms for *Charles Stuart*, against the Parliament; that he

was

was guilty of a breach of an act of parliament of the 12th of August; 1651, prohibiting all correspondence with *Charles Stuart*, or any of his party; that he had fortified his house of *Latham* against the Parliament, and that he now held the the *Isle of Man* against them, &c." And therefore they gave sentence of death and appointed his execution to be at *Bolton*, within fourteen days; that he might not have time to appeal to Parliament.

However, his son, Lord *Stratge*, having before-hand laid horses ready, rid post to *London* in one day and night, got his petition read in the junto by Mr. *Lenthel*, their speaker, (which no man else would read or receive) but *Cromwell* and *Bradshaw* had so ordered the matter, that when they saw the major part of the House inclined to allow the Earl's plea, as the speaker was putting the question, eight or nine of them quitted the House, and those left in it being under the number of forty, no question could be put. So Lord *Strange* seeing all attempts or endeavours to save the life of his father, fruitless and of no effect, for that the grandees had resolved upon, and determined his death, with incredible speed returned to his father before the hour of execution, and acquainted him with the cruel and bloody resolution of his professed and implacable enemies.

His father embracing him with all the tenderness of natural love and affection, said to him, Son, I thank you for your duty, diligence, and best endeavours to save my life, but since it cannot be obtained I must submit; and kneeling down, said, "*Domine mea voluntas sed tua.*" Then calling for his friends whom

whom he had desired to be witnesses of his death; prepared for the scaffold; and died with more courage and Christian patience, than his enemies' malice could murder with.

AN ACCOUNT

Of the christian behaviour and humble deportment of

JAMES EARL OF DERBY,

*From his trial at Chester, to his execution at Bolton;
by his Chaplain the Rev. Mr. Humphrey Baggerly,
who attended him on that mournful occasion.*

"UPON Monday the 13th of October, 1651, my Lord procured me liberty to wait upon him, having then been close prisoner for ten days. He told me the night before, Mr. Slater, Col. Duckenfield's chaplain, had been with him from the Governor, to persuade his Lordship, that they were confident his life was in no danger; but his Lordship told me, he patiently heard his discourse, but did not believe him; for, said he, I was resolved not to be deceived with the vain hopes of this fading world.

"After we had walked a quarter of an hour, and discoursed his commands to me, in order to my journey to the *Isle of Mann*, touching his consent for my Lady to deliver it up, upon those articles his Lordship had signed for that purpose; with his affectionate protestations of his honour and respect to my Lady, both for her high birth, and goodness as a wife, with much tenderness of his children there, especially

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cially

cially my Lady *Mary*, and was going on, when on a sudden came in one Lieutenant *Smith*, a rude fellow, and with his hat on, told my Lord he came from Col *Duckenfield*, the Governor, to tell him he must be ready for his journey to *Bolton*; he replied, where would you have me to go? To-morrow morning by six o'clock, said *Smith*; Well, said my Lord, I thank God I am readier to die than for my journey, however commend me to the Governor, and tell him by that time I will be ready for both.

" Then that insolent rebel *Smith* said, doth your Lordship know any friend or servant that would do that thing your Lordship knows of, it would do well if you had a friend; my Lord replied, what do you mean, would you have me to find one to cut off my own head? *Smith* said, my Lord if you could get a friend; my Lord answered, nay Sir, if those men that will have my head will not find one to cut it off, let it stand where it is; I thank my God my life hath not been so bad that I should be instrumental to deprive myself of it; though he hath been so merciful to me as to be well resolved against the worst of terrors death can put upon me, and for me and my servants, our ways have been to prosecute a just war by honourable and just means, and not those barbarous ways of blood, which to you is a trade.

" Then *Smith* went out and called me to him, and repeated his discourse and desires to me; I only told him, that my Lord had given him a final answer on that head. Then upon my coming in again, my Lord calling for pen and ink, writ his last letter to my Lady, also to my Lady *Mary* and his sons in the *Isle of Mann*.

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“ In the mean time Mr. *Paul Moreau*, a servant to his Lordship, went and bought all the rings he could get, and my Lord wrapt them up in several papers, and writ within them, and made me superscribe them to his children, friends, and servants.

“ The rest of that day, being Monday, he spent with my Lord *Strange*, Lady *Catherine*, and my Lady *Amelia* ; at night about six I came to him again, when the Ladies were gone away, and as we were walking, and my Lord telling me that he would receive the sacrament the next morning, and on Wednesday morning likewise, in came the afore said *Smith*, and said, my Lord, the Governor desires you would be ready to go in the morning about seven o'clock ; my Lord replied, Lieutenant, pray tell the Governor I shall not have occasion to go so early, by nine o'clock will serve my turn, and by that I will be ready, if he has earner occasion, he may take his own hour.

“ That night I staid supper with my Lord, who was exceeding cheerful and well composed ; and drank to Sir *Timothy Featherstone* (who suffered at *Chester* a week after in the same cause) and said, Sir, be of good comfort, I go willingly before you ; God hath so strengthened me that you shall hear that by his assistance I shall so submit both as a Christian and a soldier, as to be both a comfort and an example to you.

“ Then he often remembered my Lady, Lady *Mary*, and the little honourable Masters, and drank to me, and once to all his servants, especially to *Andrew Broome* ; and said, he hoped now that they who loved him, would never forsake his wife and children,

children, and he doubted not but God would be a master to them, and provide for them after his death.

“ In the morning his Lordship delivered me the letters for the island, and said, *Baggerley*, deliver these with my most tender affection to my wife and sweet children, who shall continue with my prayers for them to the last minute of my life, and I have instructed you as to all things for your journey. But as to that sad part of it with respect to them, I can say nothing, but must remain in silence, for your own looks will best tell your message. The great God of heaven direct you, and prosper and comfort them, in this their day of deep affliction and distress.

“ His Lordship took leave of Sir *Timothy Featherstone* much in the same manner as the night before; *Mr. Crossen* and three other gentlemen which were condemned came out of the dungeon, (at my Lord's request to the Marshal) and kissed his hand, and wept at taking leave; my Lord said, Gentlemen, God bless and keep you, I hope now my blood will satisfy for all that were with me; and now you will in a short time be at liberty; but if the cruelty of these men will not end there, be of good comfort, God will strengthen you to endure to the last as he hath done me; for you shall hear I die like a christian, a man, a soldier, and an obedient subject, to the most just and virtuous of princes.

“ After we were out of town about half a mile, my Lord meeting his two daughters, Lady *Catharine* and *Amelia*, alighted from his horse and with an humble behaviour and noble carriage, kneeled down by the boot of the coach and prayed for them, then rising up,
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took his leave, and so parted. This was the deepest scene of sorrow my eyes ever beheld ; so much grief, and so much concern, and tender affection on both sides, I never was witness of before.

" That night, Tuesday the 14th of October, 1651, we came to *Leigh* near *Wimwick*, and in the way thither, his Lordship called me to him, and bid me when I should come at the *Ile of Mann*, to commend him to the Arch-Deacon there, and tell him he well remembered the several discourses that passed between them concerning death, and the manner of it ; that he had often said the thoughts of death could not trouble him in fight, or with a sword in his hand ; but that he feared it would somewhat startle him, namely to submit to a blow upon a scaffold : But, said he, tell the Arch-Deacon from me, that I do find in myself an absolute change as to that opinion ; and I bless my God for it who hath put these comforts and courage into my soul ; I can with resignation to his Almighty will, as willingly lay down my head upon a block, as ever I did upon a pillow.

" My Lord at supper made a competent meal, saying, he would imitate his Saviour ; a supper should be his last act in this world, as it was his Saviour's own supper before he came to the cross, which he said he should do to-morrow. That night he spent upon his bed, from betwixt ten and eleven until six next morning ; as he laid him down upon his right side with his hand under his face, he said, methinks I lie like a monument in a church, and to-morrow I shall really be so. As soon as he arose, and had said prayer, he shirted himself, and said, this shall be my winding-sheet ;

sheet; he then said to Mr. *Paul*, see that it be not taken from me, for I will be buried in it.

“ Then he called on my Lord *Strange*, and said, “ Put on my order once this day, and I will send it to you again by *Baggerley*, and pray return it to my gracious Sovereign when you shall be so happy as to see him, and say I sent it with all humility and gratitude, as I received it spotless and free from any stain, according to the honourable example of my loyal ancestors.”

“ Then he went to prayer, and my Lord commanded Mr. *Greenhalgh* to read the Decalogue, and at the end of every commandment made his confession, and received absolution and the sacrament; after which he called for pen and ink, and wrote his last speech, and a note to Sir E. S. When we were ready to go he drank a cup of beer to my Lady, Lady *Mary*, and little Masters, and Mr. Arch-Deacon, and all his friends in the Island; and charged me to remember him to them all. He then would have walked into the church to have seen Sir T. T's grave, but was not permitted; nor even to ride that day upon his own horse, but set him upon a little galloway, fearing, as they said, the people would rescue him.

“ As we were going about the middle way to *Bolton*, the wind came easterly, which my Lord observing, called to me and said, “ *Baggerly*, there is a great difference betwixt you and me now, for my thoughts are fixed, and I know where I shall rest to night, but you dont; for every little alteration of wind or weather moves you of this world, from one point to another; You must leave me and go to my wife and children

children in the *Iſle of Mann*, and are uncertain where you ſhall be another day ; but in the mean time do not leave me if poſſible, but ſtay and ſee me buried as I told you, and acquaint my dear wife and family with our parting.”

COPY OF THE
EARL OF DERBY'S SPEECH
UPON THE SCAFFOLD,

And of ſome remarkable paſſages in his Lordſhip's going to it, as was taken by Mr. Greenhalgh from his Lordſhip's paper.

“ BETWEEN twelve and one o'clock on Wednesday the 15th October, 1651, the Earl of *Derby* came to *Bolton* with two troops of horſe, and one company of foot: the people every where praying and weeping as he went, even from the caſtle of *Cheſter* his priſon, to his Scaffold at *Bolton*, where his ſoul was freed from his priſon, the body.

“ His Lordſhip being to go to a houſe in *Bolton*, near the croſs; and paſſing by it, ſaid this muſt be my croſs; then alighting and going into a chamber with ſome of his friends and ſervants, had, upon requeſt, time allowed him until three o'clock that day, the ſcaffold being not quite ready, becauſe the people of the town reſuſed to ſtrike a nail, or to give any aſſiſtance to it; many of them ſaying, that ſince the war began they had ſuffered many and great loſſes, but never ſo great as this, it was the greateſt that ever beſel them; that the Earl of *Derby* their Lord and patriot,

patriot, should lose his life there, and in that barbarous manner.

“His Lordship as I told you having till three o'clock allowed him, spent all that time with those friends that were with him in praying with them, and telling them how he had lived, how he had prepared for his death, and how the Lord had strengthened him against the terrors of it; and after such and the like words, he desired them to pray with him again and then giving some good instructions to his son Lord *Strange*, he desired to be in private where we left him with his God, and where he continued on his knees in prayer for a good while; he then called for us again, telling us how willing he was to die; how contented he was to part with this world, and that the fear of death was no great trouble to him since his imprisonment; though he had always two or three soldiers with naked swords night and day in his chamber. Only the care and concern he had for his wife and children, and the fear he had what might become of them after his death, was often in his thoughts and sat heavy upon him. But now he was satisfied that God would be a husband, and a father unto them into whose hands and Almighty protection he committed them; and so taking leave of his son, he called for an officer and told him he was ready.

“At his going towards the scaffold, the people cried and prayed on every side: His Lordship with courteous humility said, “Good people I thank you all, I beseech you pray for me to the last; the God of heaven bless you; the Son of God bless you; and God the Holy Ghost fill you with his comfort.” And coming

coming near the scaffold, he laid his hands upon the ladder, saying, "I am not afraid to go up here, though to my death;" Then walking a while upon the scaffold, he seated himself at the East end of it, and made his address to the people thus.

"I am come and am content to die in this town, where I endeavoured to come the last time I was in *Lancashire*, as to a place where I promised myself to be welcome; in regard, the people have reason to be satisfied of my love and affection to them, and that they now understand sufficiently that I am not a man of blood, as some have maliciously and falsely slandered me, being acquitted of that by many gentlemen of great worth, who were in the fight at this town; and I am confident there are still some in this place, who can witness my mercy and care in saving the lives of many that day.

"As for my crime (as some call it) to come into this country with the King, I hope it deserves a better name; for I did it in obedience to his Majesty's commands, whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according to the protestation I took in Parliament in his father's time.

"I confess I love monarchy, and I love my master *Charles II.* of that name, who I myself proclaimed in this country to be King: The Lord bless him and preserve him. I do believe and assure you he is a virtuous, valiant, and discreet Prince; and I wish so much happiness to the good people of this nation after my death, that he may enjoy his right, and then am well assured that they cannot want theirs under him.

"I confess here in the presence of God, I always
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fought,

fought for peace, and I had no other reason, for I wanted neither estate nor honour, nor did I seek to enlarge either at the expence of others lives or fortunes, or the invasion of the King's rights and prerogatives: My predeceffors were for their duty, loyalty, and good services, raised to a high condition of honour and fortune, as is well known to this country, and it is as well known that I am condemned to die by his Majesty's enemies, by new and unknown laws: The Lord send us our King again: and the Lord send us our religion again; as for that which is practised now, it hath no name, and methinks there is more talk of religion than any real practice or good effect thereof: Truly to me I die for God, the King, and the laws; and this makes me not ashamed of my life, nor afraid of my death."

At which words "King and the laws" a trooper said, "We have no King, and will have no Lords;" when some sudden fear or mutiny fell among the soldiers, and his Lordship was interrupted, which some of the officers were much troubled at, and his friends much grieved for: His Lordship having had freedom of speech promised, and seeing their troops scattered in the streets, cutting and slashing the people with their swords, said, "Gentlemen, what is the matter; where is the guilt, I fly not, and here is none to pursue you."

Then his Lordship perceiving that he might not speak freely, turned himself to his servant, and gave him his papers, and commanded him to let the world know what he had to say had he not been interrupted and disturbed, which is as followeth, as it was wrote with his Lordship's own hand.

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“ My sentence upon which I am brought hither, was by a council of war, which council I had reason to expect would have justified my plea of quarter for life, that being an ancient and an honourable plea amongst soldiers, and not violated that I know of, 'till this time ; that I am made the first precedent in this case, and I wish that no others suffer in like cases. Now I must die, and that I am ready to die I thank my God, with a good and quiet conscience, without any malice to any, upon any grounds whatsoever ; though others would not find mercy for me upon just and fair grounds ; but I forgive them, following the example of my Saviour, who prayed for his enemies, and so do I pray for mine.

“ As for my faith and religion, thus much I have to say at this time : I profess my faith to be in one only God, and in Jesus Christ his only Son, who died for me and all believers, and from whom I look for my salvation ; that is in and through his only merits and sufferings. And I do die a dutiful son of the church of *England*, as it was established in my late Master's reign, and as it is yet professed in the *Isle of Mann*, which is no small comfort to me ; I thank my God for the quiet of my conscience at this time, and for the assurance of those joys which he hath promised, and are prepared for all those that love, adore, and fear him. Good people, pray for me ; as I do for you. The God of heaven bless you all, and send you peace and prosperity ; that God who is truth itself, bless you with peace and truth. Amen.”

Presently after the uproar was over, his Lordship, walking the scaffold, called for his executioner to
come

come to him, and asked to see the axe, saying, "Come friend, give it into my hands, I'll neither hurt thee nor it; and it cannot hurt me, for I am not afraid of it:" So kissing it, gave it to him again, then asked to see the block, which was not quite ready, and turning up his eyes, said, "How long, good Lord! how long?" Then putting his hand into his pocket, gave the headf-man two pieces of gold, saying, "This is all I have, take it and do thy work well, and when I am upon the block and lifting up my hands, then do your business; but I fear your great coat will hinder or trouble you, pray put it off." Some standing by, bid him ask his Lordship's forgiveness, but being either too fullen or too slow, his Lordship forgave him ere he asked it, and so passing to the other side where his coffin stood, and spying one of his Chaplains on horseback amongst the troopers, said, "Sir remember me to your brother and friend: You see I am ready, but the block is not; but when I am got into my chamber, which I shall not long be out of, (pointing to his coffin) I shall then be at rest, and no longer troubled with such a guard and noise as I have been." And so turning himself again he saw the block, and asked if all was ready; then going to the place where he began his speech, he said, "Good people I thank you for your prayers and your tears, I have heard the one and seen the other." Then bowing, he turned towards the block, and looking towards the church, he caused the block to be turned and laid that way, saying, "I will look towards thy sanctuary whilst I am here, and hope to live in thy heavenly sanctuary for ever hereafter." Then taking his doublet off, asked how he must lie, saying,

lying, "I never saw any one's head cut off, but I'll try how it fits;" So laying him down and stretching himself upon the block, he rose again and caused it to be a little removed, and standing up and looking at the executioner, said, "Be sure you remember what I told you, when I lift up my hands then do your work;" Then looking on his friends about him, said bowing, "The Lord be with you all, pray for me;" And kneeling upon his knees, made a short and private prayer, ending with the Lord's prayer, and so bowing himself again, said, "The Lord bless my wife and children, and the Lord bless us all;" And so laying his neck upon the block, and his arms stretched out, he said these words aloud,

"Blessed be God's holy name for ever and ever. Amen. Let the whole earth be filled with his glory."

And then lifting up his hands the executioner did his work, and we hope, and doubt not, but God hath done his, saved his soul, and taken it into everlasting felicity: After which nothing was heard in the town but sighs, sobs, and prayers.

When his body was taken up and stripped as he had directed, and laid in his coffin, there was thrown into it the following lines, by an unknown hand:

Wit, bounty, courage, all three here in one lie dead,
A STAWLEY's hand, Vere's heart, and Cecil's head.

The next day his corps was carried from *Bolton* to *Ormskirk*, and there deposited with his renowned ancestors, to mingle his ashes with theirs; And although we have here attended this noble Lord through the course of many dangers and distractions of life, and brought to lasting rest; yet let us not quite bury him
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in oblivion, but transmit to posterity the memory of his piety and virtuous life, (as it came to our knowledge after his decease) as we have done his most brave and martial achievements.

Wherein give me leave to present the reader with his usual morning prayer in his closet by himself; and his two last letters to his Lady and children in the *Isle of Mann*, after sentence of death was passed upon him

A MORNING PRAYER.

By Lord Derby.

Oh Almighty Lord God! thou that hearest prayer assist me now in my devotion, by the help of thy blessed Spirit, make me to have so right a sense of my sins, that I may be humbled before thee, and of thy mercy that I may be raised and comforted by thee: O Lord make me tremble to consider thee a most mighty and terrible God; and make me again rejoice to know thee a most loving and merciful Father. Make me zealous of thy glory, and thankful for thy bounties; make me know my wants and the frailties of my nature; and be earnest in my prayer that thou wilt forgive all my misdeeds; make me in my address to thee to have a present mind and no cares, wandering thoughts, or desires elsewhere, or separate from thee; make me so to pray, that I may obtain of thee mercy, and the relief of all my necessities; for the sake of thy blessed Son and my Redeemer, the holy Jesus." Amen.

A copy of Lord DERBY's last letter to his LADY,
October 12th, 1651, from *Chester*.

My dear Heart,

I have heretofore sent you comfortable lines, but alas! I have now no word of comfort, saving to our last and best refuge, which is Almighty God, to whose will we must submit; and when we consider how he hath disposed of these nations and the government thereof; we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joined with others, to have been the cause of these miseries, and to call on him with tears for mercy.

The Governor of this place, Colonel *Duckenfield*, is General of the forces which are going now against the *Ile of Mann*, and however you might do for the present, in time it would be a grievous and troublesome business to resist, especially those that at this hour command three nations; wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to that place, is, that you would make conditions for yourself and children, servants, and the people there, and such as came over with me, to the end you may go to some place of rest where you may not be concerned in war; and taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them; then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where bliss is, and no mingling of opinions.

I conjure you, my dearest heart, by all those graces which God hath given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial: If harm come
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to you, then I am dead indeed, and until then I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself; when there is no such as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children, then take comfort and God will bless you.

I acknowledge the great goodness of God, to have given me such a wife as you; so great an honour to my family; so excellent a companion to me, so pious, so much of all that can be said of good, I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof: I ask God pardon with all my soul, that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit, and when I have done any thing at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask you pardon.

I have no more to say to you at this time, than my prayers for the Almighty's blessing to you, my dear *Mall, Ned, and Billy*. Amen, sweet Jesus.

A Copy of Lord DERBY's last letter to Lady MARY,
Mr. EDWARD, & Mr. WILLIAM.

My dear *Mall, Ned, and Billy,*

I REMEMBER well how sad you were to part with me, but now I fear your sorrow will be greatly increased to be informed that you can never see me more in this world; but I charge you all to strive against too great a sorrow, you are all of you of that temper that it would do you much harm; and my desires and prayers to God are, that you may have a happy life let it be as holy a life as you can, and as little sinful as you can avoid or prevent.

I can well now give you that counsel, having myself at this time so great a sense of the vanities of

my life, which fills my soul with sorrow ; yet I rejoice to remember that when I have blessed God with pious devotion, it has been most delightful to my soul, and must be my eternal happiness.

Love the Arch-Deacon, he will give you good precepts: Obey your mother with cheerfulness, and grieve her not, for she is your example, your nursery, your counsellor, your all, under God ; there never was, nor ever can be a more deserving person.—I am called away, and this is the last I shall write to you. The Lord my God bless and guard you from all evil : So prays your father at this time, whose sorrow is inexorable to part with *Mall*, *Ned*, and *Billy*. Remember,

DERBY.

The taking away the blood of the noble Peer aforesaid, might have been esteemed by the world a sacrifice sufficient to have atoned for any supposed offences given by his Lady and innocent children, who were in the *Isle of Mann*, at the time of his being taken out of the world, where it might have been concluded they were in a place of quiet and security.

But even this place of retirement was no safeguard to them, for the wicked and restless malice of their persecutors *Bradshaw*, *Rigby*, and *Birch*, found them out there, and struck at his surviving and afflicted Lady and children, endeavouring and using all their power, to eradicate them and the whole noble family, from the face of the earth. And for this purpose had corrupted one Capt. *Christian*, whom his Lordship had brought up from a child, and on his coming over to attend his Majesty King *Charles II.* entrusted him

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with the command of all the foot soldiers in the island, as a guard and security of the place, and his distressed Lady and children, whom he was charged to take especial care of.

But the said *Christian* proving a most perfidious and treacherous villain, had corrupted the soldiers of both the castles, as well as those under his command, promising to deliver up the island to the Parliament's ships and forces, when they appeared against it.

Upon which Colonel *Duckensfield* and *Birch*, having commission from the junto at *London*, with ten ships appeared before it, and summoned the heroic Lady *Derby* to deliver up the island to them, for the use of the Parliament. Her Ladyship having Sir *Thomas Armstrong* with her in castle *Rushen*, whom her Lord had made Governor there, and his brother Governor of *Peel Castle*, and being confident of the integrity of *Christian* and the islanders under him, refused to surrender without licence obtained from the King.

But *Christian* having prepared his countrymen for the execution of his treachery, that very night suffered the forces to land without resistance, who seized upon the Lady and her children, with the Governors of both the castles, and the next morning brought them prisoners to *Duckensfield* and *Birch*, who told her Ladyship that *Christian*, had surrendered the island upon articles, which her Ladyship desired to be favoured with a sight of, and on perusal whereof she observed, that the *Isle of Mann* was only yielded up, and that the islands about it were not included; upon which she requested of Colonel *Duckensfield* and *Birch*, but especially of *Christian*, who had formed and acquiesced

AN ACCOUNT OF
THE
LIFE
OF
OLIVER CROMWELL.

OLIVER CROMWELL, was the son of Mr. *Robert Cromwell*, who was the second son of Sir *Henry Cromwell*, of *Hinchinbroke*, in the county of *Huntingdon*, by *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *Richard Stewart*, of the *Isle of Ely*, Knight. He was born in the parish of *St. John*, in the ancient borough of *Huntington*, April 25, 1599, in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. He was christened in the parish church on the 29th of the same month, when his uncle Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, a very worthy gentleman, gave him his name.

He was sent to school under the care of Dr. *Thomas Beard*, master of the free-school at *Huntingdon*. He was from thence removed to *Sidney College, Cambridge*, where he was admitted, April 23, 1616, under the tuition of Mr. *Henry Howlett*, who by a strict attention to his pupil's disposition, quickly discovered that he was less addicted to speculation than to action. His father dying, he returned home, where his conduct was far enough from being regular, insomuch that it gave his mother, who was a notable and prudent woman, much uneasiness. She was advised, by some
near

near relations, to send him up to *London*, and to place him in *Lincoln's Inn*, which she accordingly did, but without any extraordinary effects, since it served only to bring him acquainted with the vices of the town, by way of addition to those to which he had been addicted in the country. It does not at all appear that he applied himself to the study of the law, which was what his friends aimed at ; on the contrary, he continued to pursue his pleasures, and to give himself up to wine, women, and play ; in which last though sometimes fortunate, yet, taking all his expences together, they so much exceeded his income, that he quickly dissipated all his father left him. But after a few years spent in this manner, he saw plainly the consequence of his follies, renounced them suddenly, and began to lead a very grave and sober life, and entered into a close friendship with several eminent divines, who looked upon his reformation as very extraordinary, and spoke of him as a man of sense and great abilities.

As he was related to Mr. *Hampden*, of *Buckinghamshire*, to the *Barringtons* of *Essex*, and other considerable families, they interested themselves in his favour, and were very desirous of seeing him settled in the world, in order to which a marriage was proposed, which soon after took effect. The lady he married was *Elizabeth*, daughter of Sir *James Bouchier*, Knight, a woman of spirit and parts, and being descended from an ancient family, did not want a considerable portion of pride. *Cromwell* soon after returned to his own country, and settled at *Huntingdon*, till the death of his uncle Sir *Thomas Stewart*, who left him an estate

OLIVER CROMWELL.

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was worth near 500l. a year, which induced him to return into the *Iffe of Ely*. It was about this time he began to converse mostly with them who were styled Puritans, and by degrees affected their notions with great warmth and violence.

He was elected a member of the third parliament in the reign of *Charles I.* which met January 20, 1628, and was of the committee for religion, where he distinguished himself by his zeal against Popery, and by complaining against *Dr. Neile*, then bishop of *Winchester*, licensing books which had a very dangerous tendency.

After the dissolution of that Parliament he returned again into the country, where he continued to express much concern for religion, to frequent silent ministers, and to invite them often to lectures and sermons at his house, by which he again brought his affairs into a very indifferent situation, so that he judged it necessary to try what industry might do towards repairing those breaches; which led him to take a farm at *St. Ives*, and this he kept about five years; though indeed instead of repairing, it helped to run out the rest of his fortune. He had prayers in the morning and afternoon, and he gave public notice, that he was ready to make restitution to any from whom he had won money at play: and he actually did return 30l. to a *Mr. Calton*, from whom he had won it several years before,

When the Earl of *Bedford* and some other persons of high distinction, who had estates in *Lincolnshire*, were desirous of having the fens drained, *Cromwell* violently opposed it, which gave occasion to *Mr. Hampden*,

Hampden, to recommend him to his friends in Parliament, as a person capable of conducting great things. He had the address to get himself chosen for *Cambridge*, a place wherein he was not known, and was very zealous in promoting the remonstrance which was carried on November 14, 1641, which laid the foundation of the civil war. He told Lord *Falkland* that if the remonstrance had not been carried, he was resolved to have converted the small remains of his estate into ready money the next day, and to have quitted the kingdom, and this, he affirmed was the sentiment also of some of the most considerable members of that party.

In 1642 *Cromwell* got a Captain's commission from the Commons, and immediately raised a troop of horse in his own country. They consisted of soldiers, whose bravery he proved by the following stratagem. He placed about twelve of them in an ambuscade, near one of the King's garrisons, who advancing furiously towards the body, as if they had been of the enemy's party, put some of their companions to the flight. These he immediately discharged, and filled their places with others of more courage.

The valour and heroic spirit that *Cromwell* discovered in every enterprize that he was engaged in, procured him the thanks of the House of Commons, and soon after recommended him to the dignity of Colonel. In this post he raised one thousand horse of his own interest of his own countrymen, a number of them freeholders, and freeholder's sons, who, upon a matter of conscience, engaged in the quarrel.

to those articles, that she and her children might have to retire to *Peel Castle*, situate in an island separated from the main island by the sea ; from whence she proposed she might in some little time, get over to her friends in *France* or *Holland*, or some other place of rest and refuge.

But she was utterly denied that favour by her hard-hearted and inhuman enemies, neither regard to her sex, compassion to her children, honour to her quality, nor even common civility, found any place for her relief. And thus this great and excellent Lady, whose religion, virtue, and prudence, were not inferior to any woman upon record, is become a captive and prisoner to her most barbarous, malignant, and unmerciful enemies ; and she that brought fifty thousand pounds in portion to this nation, has not now a morsel of bread for herself and desolate children, but what was the charity of her impoverished and ruined friends.

After which she and her children with her, continued prisoners in the island until his Majesty's happy restoration, (enduring all those sufferings with a generous resolution and christian patience) and then expecting justice against her Lord's murderers, her son restored to the sequestered estates of his father, and some compensation for the immense losses and devastation of her family ; but failing of all, her great heart (overwhelmed with grief and sorrow) burst in pieces, and she died at *Knowsley House*, with that christian temper and exemplary piety, in which she had always lived.

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The noble Lady who we have just attended to 1 grave, had issue to her Lord three sons.—*Charles*, 1 eldest, who succeeded him, and *Edward* and *Willia* who both died young and unmarried; also the daughters, Lady *Henrietta Maria*, the eldest, La *Catherine*, and Lady *Amelia*, who were all married and died without issue except the youngest.



OLIVER CROMWELL.

5

It was said at a general muster in 1644, no men appeared so full, and well armed, and civil as *Cromwell's* horse did. He used his men to look after, feed and dress them daily; and, when it was necessary, to lie together on the ground; and besides taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service; to chuse the best armour, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow-soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy. These were afterwards preferred to the commanders and officers in the army, and their places filled up with lusty strong fellows, whom he brought up in the same strictness of discipline.

But the fullest and best authority for what is here advanced, may be found in *Cromwell's* own words, as quoted by the Rev. Mr. *Peck*.

"I was a person that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater. From my first being a Captain of a troop of horse, I did labour as well as I could, to discharge my trust; and God blessed me as it pleased him. I had a very worthy friend then, Mr. *John Hampden*, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men beaten on every hand: I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord *Essex's* army of some regiments: and I told him it would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in, as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. Your troops,

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said I, are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's son's, younger sons, and persons of quality: and do you think that the spirit of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit, and (take it not ill what I say) of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go; or else I am sure you will be beaten still. I told him so. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. I told him, I could do somewhat in it. And I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did. And from that day forward they never were beaten, but whenever they engaged against the enemy, they beat continually."

In the famous battles of *Marston Moor*, and *Naseby*, it was universally allowed that *Cromwell's* cavalry had the greatest share in gaining the victories. It is affirmed that in the action at *Naseby*, a commander of the King's knowing *Cromwell*, advanced briskly from the head of his troops, to exchange a single bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in; till their pistols being discharged, the cavalier, with a slanting back blow of a broad sword, chanced to cut the ribbon that held *Cromwell's* murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now just as he was going to repeat his stroke, *Cromwell's* party came in and rescued him; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece into his saddle, which he hastily catching, clapped

clapped it on the wrong way, and so bravely fought with it the rest of the day, which proved so very fortunate on his side.

In the winter when the Parliament sat, *Cromwell* and his friends carried what was then called, the self-denying ordinance, that excluded the members of either House from having any command in the army; however *Cromwell* was at first occasionally, and at last absolutely exempted upon the introduction of the new model, as it was called. The chief command of the army was given to Sir *Thomas Fairfax*; and from Lieutenant General of horse, *Cromwell* became Lieutenant General of the army, of which, while another had the title he seems to have had the direction.

In 1646, the Earl of *Essex* died suddenly. The affairs of the King were at this time in a ruinous situation; the few places that held out for him were surrendered, and his Majesty threw himself into the hands of the *Scots*, who soon after delivered him to the *English* Parliament, who secured him in *Holmby House*, where he was seized the next year by the army, but made his escape from *Hampson Court* to the *Isle of Wight*, remaining there until he was brought up to *London* in order to his trial. During this time *Cromwell* was managing the Parliament and the army, who were both jealous of him in their turns, and both of them, in their turns outwitted by him.

The *Scots* about this time invaded *England* under Duke *Hamilton*, who had carried the command from the Marquis of *Argyle*, and was for restoring the King without conditions. *Cromwell* was ordered to advance against these, and fight them. According to the way of

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tion. General *Munro*, who was come into *England* as a reserve to the Duke, hearing of what had happened, and that *Cromwell* was advancing to prosecute the advantage, thought it his best way to march back again with all expedition.

Having rid the nation of this great fear; *Cromwell* resolved to enter *Scotland* itself, that he might effectually root out whatever threatened any further disturbance. In his way he retook *Berwick* and *Carlisle*, both which had revolted from their former obedience. And just upon entering the kingdom, he ordered proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that no one upon pain of death, should force from the *Scots* any of their cattle or goods. He also declared to the *Scots* themselves, "That he came with an army
" to free their kingdom from the Hamiltonian party,
" who endeavoured to involve both the nations in
" blood; without any intention to invade their liberties, or infringe their privileges." He marched to *Edinburgh*, where he was received with great solemnity by the Marquis of *Argyle* and others; and having dispossessed the *Hamilton* party of all public trusts, he returned to *England*, loaded with marks of honour, leaving behind him, at the request of the *Argyle* party, three regiments of horse under Major General *Lambert*.

Cromwell, crowned with success, returned in triumph to *London*, where he was met by the Speaker of the House, accompanied by the Mayor of *London*, and the magistrates, in all their formalities. His first care was to take advantage of his late successes, by depressing the *Scots*, who had so lately withstood the work
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of the Gospel, as he called it. An act was passed for abolishing royalty in *Scotland*, and annexing that kingdom, as a conquered province, to the *English* commonwealth. It was empowered, however, to send some members to the *English* parliament. Judges were appointed to distribute justice; and the people of that country, were not much dissatisfied with their government. The prudent conduct of *Monk*, who was left by *Cromwell* to complete their subjection served much to reconcile the minds of the people harassed with dissensions, of which they never well understood the cause.

In this manner the *English* parliament, by the means of *Cromwell*, spread their uncontested authority over all the *British* dominions. *Ireland* was totally subdued by *Ireton* and *Ludlow*. All the settlements in *America*, that had declared for the royal cause, were obliged to submit; *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, *Sicily*, and the *Isle of Mann*, were brought easily under subjection. Thus mankind saw, with astonishment, a parliament composed of sixty or seventy obscure and illiterate members, governing a great empire with unanimity and success. Without any acknowledged subordination, except a council of state consisting of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses were made, they levied armies, maintained fleets, and gave laws to the neighbouring powers of Europe. The finances were managed with apparent œconomy and exactness in every part. There were few private persons became rich by the plunder of the public; the revenues of the crown, the lands of the bishops, and a tax of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds each month, supplied the wants of the

the government, and gave vigour to all their proceedings.

The parliament having thus reduced their native dominions to perfect obedience, next resolved to chastise the *Dutch*, who had given but very slight causes of complaint. It happened that one Doctor *Doristius*, who was of the number of the late King's judges, being sent by the parliament as their envoy to *Holland*, was assassinated by one of the royal party, who had taken refuge there. Some time after, also, Mr. *St. John*, appointed their ambassador to that court, was insulted by the friends of the prince of *Orange*. These were thought motives sufficient to induce the commonwealth of *England* to declare war against them.

The parliament's chief dependance lay in the activity and courage of *Blake*, their admiral, who though he had not embarked in naval command till late in life, yet surpassed all that went before him in courage and dexterity. On the other side, the *Dutch* opposed to him their famous admiral *Van Tromp*, to whom they never since produced an equal. Many were the engagements between these celebrated admirals, and various was their success. Sea-fights, in general, seldom prove decisive; and the vanquished are soon seen to make head against the victors. Several dreadful encounters, therefore, rather served to shew the excellence of the admirals than to determine their superiority. The *Dutch*, however, who felt many great disadvantages by the loss of their trade, and by the total suspension of their fisheries, were willing to treat for a peace; but the parliament gave them a very unfavourable answer. It was the policy of that body to keep

keep their navy on foot as long as they could ; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by sea, it would diminish the power of *Cromwell* by land, which was now become very formidable to them.

This great aspirer, however quickly perceived their designs ; and from the first saw that they dreaded his growing power, and wished its diminution. All his measures were conducted with a bold intrepidity that marked his character ; and he now saw that it was not necessary to wear the mask of subordination any longer. Secure, therefore in the attachment of the army, he resolved to make another daring effort ; and persuaded the officers to present a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected by the commons with disdain. The petition was soon drawn up and presented in which the officers, after demanding their arrears, desired the parliament to consider how many years they had sat, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new model the house, and establish freedom on the broadest basis.

The house was highly offended at the presumption of the army, although they had seen, but too lately, that their own power was wholly founded on that very presumption. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who presented such petitions for the future, should be deemed guilty of high treason. To this the officers made a very warm remonstrance, and the parliament as warm a reply ; while the breach between them every moment grew wider. This was what *Cromwell* had long wished, and
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had long foreseen. He was sitting in council with his officers, when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating ; upon which he rose up in the most seeming fury, and turning to Major *Vernon*, cried out, " That he was compelled to do a thing that, " made the very hair of his head to stand on an end." Then hastening to the house with three hundred soldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance, he entered. Stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members: " For shame," said he, " get you gone. Give place to honest men ; " to those who will more faithfully discharge their " trust. You are no longer a parliament ; I tell you, " you are no longer a parliament ; the Lord has done " with you." Sir *Harry Vane* exclaiming against this conduct : " Sir *Harry*, cried *Cromwell*, with a loud " voice, O Sir *Harry Vane*, the Lord deliver me from " Sir *Harry Vane*." Taking hold of *Martin* by the cloak, thou art a whore-master ; to another, thou art an adulterer ; to a third, thou art a drunkard ; and to a fourth, thou art a glutton. " It is you," continued he to the members, " that have forced me upon this. " I have fought the Lord night and day, that he would " rather slay me than put me upon this work." Then pointing to the mace, " Take away," cried he, " that " bauble." After which turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the doors to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, returned to *Whitehall*.

The persons he pitched upon for his next parlia-

ment, were the lowest, meanest, and most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. He was well apprized that during the administration of such a groupe of characters he alone must govern, or that they must soon throw up the reins of government, which they were unqualified to guide. Accordingly, their practice justified his sagacity. One of them particularly who was called *Praise God Barebones*, a canting leather seller, gave his name to this odd assembly, and it was called *Barebones's* parliament.

The very vulgar began now to exclaim against so foolish a legislature; and they themselves seemed not insensible of the ridicule which every day was thrown out against them. Accordingly by concert, they met earlier than the rest of their fraternity; and observing to each other that this parliament had sat long enough, they hastened to *Cromwell*, with *Rouse* their speaker at their head, and into his hands they resigned the authority with which he had invested them.

Cromwell accepted their resignation with pleasure but being told that some of the number were refractory, he sent Colonel *White* to clear the house of such as ventured to remain there. They placed one *Moyer* in the chair by the time the Colonel had arrived; and he being asked by the Colonel, "What they did there?" *Moyer* replied very gravely, "that they were seeking the Lord." "Then you may go elsewhere," cried *White*; "for to my certain knowledge the Lord has "not been here these many years."

This shadow of a Parliament being dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared *Cromwell* Protector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland,*
and

and *Ireland*, being in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He applied himself immediately to the settling of public affairs both foreign and domestic. He chose his council among his officers, who had been the companions of his dangers and his victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a-year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with frugality and care: while his activity, vigilance, and resolution were such, that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection before they took effect.

He filled the courts at *Westminster* with able judges; professed an unalterable resolution of maintaining liberty of conscience, and dismissed from their command such officers as he could not confide in. He gave the command of all the forces in *Scotland* to General *Monk*, and sent his own son, *Henry*, to govern *Ireland*. He, by an ordinance, dated April 12, 1654, united *England* and *Scotland*, fixing the number of representatives for the latter at thirty; and soon after did the same for *Ireland*. He shewed a great regard for justice, in causing the brother of the Ambassador from *Portugal* to be executed for murder. He called a Parliament to meet on September 3d, which was immediately opened on that day, to which the Protector went in great state; he received the house of commons in the painted chamber, where he made them a very long speech. When they came to their house, after electing Mr. *William Lenthall* their speaker,

speaker, they fell to debating whether the supreme legislative power of the kingdom should be in a single person, or a parliament. This so alarmed the Protector, that, on the 12th of the same month, he caused a guard to be set at the painted chamber, where he gave them a sharp reproof, and none were permitted to go into the house afterward, before they had taken an oath to be faithful to the Protector, and his government. The Protector however, soon found that this Parliament would give him no money, and finding that they were contriving to take away his power, he likewise dissolved them.

Although the Protector proceeded in an arbitrary manner against those who contested his authority, yet in all other cases, where the life of his jurisdiction was not concerned, he seemed to have a great reverence for the law, and the constitution, rarely interposing between party and party; and to do him justice, there appeared in his government many things that were truly great and praise-worthy. Justice as well distributive as commutative, was by him restored almost to its ancient grace and splendour; the judges executed their office without covetousness, according to law and equity, and the laws except some few, where himself was immediately concerned, being permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay; men's manners, outwardly at least, became likewise reformed, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now revived, and put in execution. There was a strict discipline kept in his court, where drunkenness, whoredom, and extortion, were either banished or severely rebuked.

rebuked. Trade began to flourish and prosper, and most things to put on a happy and promising aspect. The Protector also shewed a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of it. The university of *Oxford*, in particular, acknowledged his Highness' respect to them, in continuing their chancellor, and bestowing on the public library there, twenty-four Greek manuscripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a-year to a divinity reader. He also ordered a scheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at *Durham*, for the convenience of the northern students. Towards all who complied with his pleasure, and courted his protection, he manifested great civility, generosity, and bounty. No man affected to seem more tender of the clergy than himself, though he would not list himself in any particular sect; saying, "It was his only wish and desire to see the church in peace, and that all would gather into one sheepfold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, and mutually love one another." Though the public use of the Common Prayer was denied to the episcopal party, yet he allowed the use of their rites in private houses; and milder courses were taken than under the tyranny of others.

His management of foreign affairs well corresponded with his character, and were attended with success. The *Dutch* having been humbled by repeated defeats, and totally abridged in their commercial concerns, were obliged at last to sue for peace, which, he gave them on favourable terms. He insisted on their paying deference to the *British* flag. He compelled them to abandon the interests of the king, and to pay eighty-five

five thousand pounds as an indemnification for former expences, and to restore the *English* East India Company a part of those dominions, of which they had been dispossessed by the *Dutch*, during the former reign in that distant part of the world.

He was not less successful in his negotiations with the court of *France*. Cardinal *Mazarine*, by whom the affairs of that kingdom were conducted, deemed it necessary to pay deference to the Protector; and desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, submitted to *Cromwell's* imperious character, and thus procured ends equally beneficial to both.

The court of *Spain* was not less assiduous in its endeavours to gain his friendship, but was not so successful. This vast monarchy, which but a few years before had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now reduced so low as to be scarce able to defend itself. *Cromwell*, however, who knew nothing of foreign politics, still continued to regard its power with an eye of jealousy, and came into an association with *France* to depress it still more. He lent that court a body of six thousand men to attack the *Spanish* dominions in the *Netherlands*; and on obtaining a signal victory by his assistance at *Dunes*, the *French* put *Dunkirk*, which they had just taken from the *Spaniards* into his hands, as a reward for his attachment.

But it was by sea that he humbled the power of *Spain* with still more effectual success. *Blake*, who had long made himself formidable to the *Dutch*, and whose fame spread over Europe, now became still more dreadful to the *Spanish* monarchy. He sailed with
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fleet into the *Mediterranean*, whether, since the cru-
sades, no *English* fleet had ever ventured to advance.
He there conquered all that ventured to oppose him.
Casting anchor before *Leghorn*, he demanded and
obtained satisfaction for some injuries which the
English commerce had suffered from the Duke of
Tuscany. He next sailed to *Algiers*, and compelled
the *Dey* to make peace, and to restrain his pyrat-
cal subjects from further injuring the *English*. He then
went to *Tunis*, and having made the same demands, he
was desired by the *Dey* of that place to look at the
two castles, *Porto Farino*, and *Goletta*, and do his
utmost. *Blake* shewed him that he was not long
accepting the challenge; he entered the harbour,
burned the shipping there, and then sailed out tri-
umphantly to pursue his voyage. At *Cadiz*, he took
two galleons valued at near two million pieces of eight.
At the *Canaries*, he burned a *Spanish* fleet of sixteen
ships, and returning home to *England* to enjoy the
fame of his noble actions, as he came within sight of
his native country he expired. This gallant man,
though he fought for an usurper, yet was averse to his
cause; he was a zealous republican in principle, and
his aim was to serve his country. "It is still our duty,
"he would say to the seamen, to fight for our country
"into whatever hands the government may fall."

The Lord *Clarendon*, says, "*Blake* was the first
man that declined the old track, and made it manifest,
that the naval science might be attained in less time
than was imagined; and despised those rules which
had long been in practice, to keep his ships and his
men out of danger, which had been held in former
times,

times, a point of great ability and circumspection : as if the principal art requisite in the captain of a ship, had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first man who brought ships to contend castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first who infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved ; and taught them to fight on shore as well as upon water : and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute achievements."

Blake had a very great regard for the honour of his country, and the *English* dominion of the seas. One instance of his care to preserve this honour, mentioned by Bishop *Burnet*, cannot be omitted. He says, that *Blake* happening to be at *Malaga* with the fleet, before *Cromwell* made war upon *Spain*, some of the seamen going a-shore, met the host, as it was carrying about, and not only refused to pay any homage to it, but laughed at those that did. Whereupon one of the priests stirred up the people to resent this affront ; and so they fell upon them, and beat them severely. The seamen returning to their ship, and complaining of the usage they had met with, *Blake* soon dispatched a trumpeter to the Viceroy, to demand the priest who had been the occasion of it ; to which the Viceroy returned this answer, " That he had no authority over the priests, and so could not dispose of him. Bu

Blake

Blake sent him word again, "That he would not enquire who had power to send the priest to him ; but "if he were not sent within three hours, he would "burn their town." And so being unable to resist, they sent the priest to him ; who justifying himself upon the rude behaviour of the seamen, *Blake* answered, "that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, "he would have punished them severely, since he "would not suffer his men to affront the established "religion of any place ; but he took it ill, that he set "on the *Spaniards* to do it ; for he would have all the "world know, that an *Englishman* was only to be "punished by an *Englishman*." And so he civilly treated the priest, and dismissed him, being satisfied that he had him at his mercy. *Cromwell* was exceedingly pleased with this, and read the letters in council with great satisfaction, telling them, "he hoped he "should make the name of an *Englishman* as great as "ever that of a *Roman* had been."

At the same time that *Blake's* expeditions were going forward, there was another carried on under the command of Admirals *Pen* and *Venables*, with about four thousand land forces, to attack the island of *Hispaniola*. Failing however in this, and being driven off the place by the *Spaniards*, they steered to *Jamaica*, which was surrendered to them without a blow. So little was thought of the importance of this conquest, that upon the return of the expedition, *Pen* and *Venables* were sent to the tower for their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

Cromwell was perhaps as assiduous to assert and maintain the sovereignty of the sea, and the honour of the

the *English* nation, as any crowned head that before or since swayed the *British* sceptre. In the histories of his time we are told, that an *English* merchant ship was taken in the chops of the channel, carried into St. *Maloes*, and there confiscated upon some groundless pretence. As soon as the master of the ship, who was an honest Quaker, got home, he presented a petition to the Protector in council, setting forth his case, and praying for redress. Upon hearing the petition, the Protector told his council, he would take that affair upon himself, and ordered the man to attend him next morning. He examined him strictly as to all the circumstances of his case, and finding by his answers that he was a plain honest man, and that he had been concerned in no unlawful trade, he asked him if he would go to *Paris* with a letter? The man answered he could. Well then, says the Protector, prepare for your journey, and come to me to-morrow morning. Next morning he gave him a letter to Cardinal *Mazarine*, and told him he must stay but three days for an answer. The answer I mean, says he, is, the full value of what you might have made of your ship and cargo; and tell the Cardinal, that if it is not paid in three days, you have express orders from me to return home. The honest, blunt Quaker, we may suppose, followed his instructions to a tittle; but the Cardinal, according to the manner of ministers when they are any way pressed, began to shuffle: therefore the Quaker returned, as he was bid. As soon as the Protector saw him, he asked, "Well, friend, have you got your money?" And upon the man's answering he had not, the Protector told him, "Then leave your

“your direction with my Secretary, and you shall soon hear from me.” Upon this occasion, *Cromwell* did not stay to negotiate, or to explain, by long tedious memorials, the reasonableness of his demand. No, though there was a *French* minister residing here, he did not so much as acquaint him with the story, but immediately sent a man of war or two to the channel, with orders to seize every *French* ship they could meet with. Accordingly, they returned in a few days with two or three *French* prizes, which *Cromwell* ordered to be immediately sold, and out of the produce, he paid the Quaker what he demanded for the ship and cargo. Then he sent for the *French* minister, gave him account of what had happened, and told him there was a balance, which if he pleased, should be paid in to him, to the end that he might deliver it to those of his countrymen, who were the owners of the *French* ships, that had been so taken and sold.

This was *Cromwell's* manner of negotiating; this was the method he took for reparation. And what was the consequence? it produced no war between the two nations. No, it made the *French* government terribly afraid of giving him the least offence; and while he lived, they took special care that no injuries should be done to any subjects of *Great Britain*. This shews that *Oliver Cromwell* had a genius and a capacity for government; and however unjustly he acquired his power, it is certain that this nation was much respected abroad, and flourished much at home, under his government.

The secret correspondence *Cromwell* kept up, from
his

his first appearance on the theatre of public affairs, was what every one wondered at. When he was only Deputy in *Ireland*, he stopped the Lord *Broghill*, in *London*, as he was going over to the King, to take out a commission against the parliament, and so wrought on him, that he went over in the parliament's service, and continued faithful to *Cromwell* ever after. And when he was mounted to the summit of authority, he brought over a company of *Jews* into *England*, and gave them toleration to build a synagogue; because he knew by reason of their negociation of money in all countries, that they were excellently fitted for the purpose of bringing him intelligence. It was by the information of one of those, who came to him in a poor beggarly habit, that he intercepted a large sum of money, which the *Spaniards*, who were then at war with him, were sending over in a *Dutch* ship, to pay their army in *Flanders*. He also prevailed on Sir *Richard Willis*, Chancellor *Hyde's* great confidant, to let him know all that passed in King *Charles's* court: pretending that his aim in discovering the plots of the royalists, for whom he had a great tenderness, was only to disconcert them, that none of them might suffer for their rashness. This practice of Sir *Richard* was not discovered till after the Protector's death, when he still continued his correspondence with *Thurloe*, whose under-secretary, *Moreland*, detected him to the King. There could not be any considerable person in *London*, of the royal party, but *Cromwell* immediately knew of it. He once told Lord *Broghill*, that there was a friend of his in town; and upon his asking who, said my Lord *Ormond*; mentioning the

the day when he arrived, and the place where he then was. *Brogill* had leave from the Protector to go to *Ormond*, and inform him of all this, that he might make his escape ; which was done accordingly.

In matters of greatest moment, the Protector trusted none but his secretary *Thurloe*, and oftentimes not him. An instance of which *Thurloe* used to tell of himself, "that he was once commanded by *Cromwell* to go at a certain hour to *Gray's Inn*, and at such a place deliver a bill of 20,000*l.* payable to the bearer at *Genoa*, to a man he should find walking in such a habit and posture as he described him, without speaking one word." Which accordingly *Thurloe* did : and never knew to his dying day, either the person or the occasion.

At another time the Protector coming late at night to *Thurloe's* office, and beginning to give him directions about something of great importance and secrecy, he took notice that Mr. *Moreland*, afterward Sir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the room, which he had not observed before : and fearing he might have overheard their discourse, though he pretended to be asleep upon his desk, he drew a poniard, which he always carried under his coat, and was going to dispatch *Moreland* upon the spot ; if *Thurloe* had not with great intreaties prevailed upon him to desist, assuring him that *Moreland* had sat up two nights together and was now certainly fast asleep.

There was not the smallest accident that befel King *Charles II.* in his exile, but he knew it perfectly well ; insomuch that having given leave to an *English* nobleman to travel, upon condition he should not see *Charles Stuart*;

Stuart; he asked him at his return, "If he had punctually obeyed his commands?" Which the other affirming he had, *Cromwell* replied, "It is true you did not see him; for to keep your word with me, you agreed to meet in the dark, the candles being put out for that end." And withal told him all the particulars that passed in conversation betwixt the King and him at their meeting.

That he had spies about King *Charles* was not strange: but his intelligence reached the most secret transactions of other princes, and when the matter was communicated to but very few: of which we have a notable instance in the business of *Dunkirk*. There was an article in the treaty between *France* and the Protector, that if *Dunkirk* was taken, it should immediately be delivered up to the *English*; and his ambassador *Lockhart* had orders to take possession of it accordingly. When the *French* army, being joined by the *English* auxiliaries, was in its march to invest the town, *Cromwell* sent one morning for the *French* ambassador to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him publicly for his master's designed breach of promise, in giving secret orders to the *French* general to keep possession of *Dunkirk*, in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him, that there was no such thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwell* pulled a paper out of his pocket, "Here says he, is a copy of the Cardinal's order: and I desire you to dispatch immediately an express, to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if he deliver not

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up the keys of the town of *Dunkirk* to *Lockhart* within an hour after it be taken, tell him I will come in person, and demand them at the gates of *Paris*." There were but four persons said to be privy to this order, the Queen Mother, the Cardinal, the Mareschal de *Turenne*, and a secretary, whose name, says *Wellwood*, it is not fit to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blamed the Queen, as she might possibly have blabbed it out to some of her woman: whereas it was found after the secretary's death, that he had kept a secret correspondence with *Cromwell* for several years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the copy of the order above-mentioned.—The message had its effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the hands of the *English*.

In the spring of the year 1657, a kind of legislative government was brought upon the carpet, and it was agreed to offer *Cromwell* the title of King; but finding that it was disagreeable to his best friends, he told them he could not, with a good conscience, accept the title of King; but his Highness resolved upon a new inauguration, which was accordingly performed with great solemnity, June 26, 1657, in *Westminster-Hall*, with all the splendour of a coronation. On January 20, 1658, the commons met, as did the other house also, pursuant to the writs of summons issued by the Lord Protector, and all shew of force was withdrawn, but the two houses being at variance, the Protector dissolved them, February 4th, with great bitterness of speech.

It cannot be supposed that *Cromwell's* situation was at this time enviable. Perhaps no station, however
mean

mean or loaded with contempt, could be more truly distressful than his at a time the nation was loading him with congratulations and addresses. He had rendered himself hateful to every party; and he owed his safety to their mutual hatred and diffidence of each other. His arts of dissimulation had been long exhausted; none now could be deceived by them, those of his own party and principles disdaining the use to which he had converted his zeal and professions. The truth seems to be, if we may use a phrase taken from common life, he had begun by being a dupe to his own enthusiasms, and ended with being a sharper.

The whole nation silently detested his administration, but he had not still been reduced to the extreme of wretchedness, if he could have found domestic consolation. *Fleetwood*, his son-in-law, actuated with the wildest zeal, detested that character which could use religious professions for the purposes of temporal advancement. His eldest daughter, married to *Fleetwood*, had adopted republican principles so vehemently, that she could not behold even her own father entrusted with uncontrollable power. His other daughters were no less sanguine in favour of the royal cause; but above all, Mrs. *Claypole*, his favourite daughter, who upon her death bed, upbraided him with all those crimes that led him to trample on the throne.

Every hour added some new disquietude. Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *William Waller*, and many of the heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into an engagement to destroy him. His administration, so expensive both at home and abroad, had exhausted his
revenue,

revenue, and he was left considerably in debt. One conspiracy was no sooner detected, but another rose from its ruins; and to encrease his calamity, he was now taught upon reasoning principles, that his death was not only desirable, but his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by Colonel *Titus*, (under the borrowed name of *William Allen*) a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled, *Killing no Murder*. Of all the pamphlets that came forth at that time, or perhaps of those that have since appeared, this was the most eloquent and masterly. The dedication of it runs thus;

To his Highness Oliver Cromwell.

May it please your Highness,

"How I have spent some hours of the leisure your Highness hath been pleased to give me, this following paper will give your Highness an account. How you will please to interpret it I cannot tell; but I can with confidence say, my intention in it is to procure your Highness that justice nobody yet does you; and to let the people see, the longer they defer it, the greater injury they do both themselves and you. To your Highness justly belongs the honour of dying for the people: and it cannot chuse but be an unspeakable consolation to you in the last moments of your life, to consider, with how much benefit to the world you are like to leave it. It is then only, my Lord, the titles you now usurp will be truly yours: you will then be indeed the deliverer of your country, and free it from a bondage little inferior to that from which *Moses* delivered his: you will then be the true refor-

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mer, which you would now be thought : religion shall be then restored ; liberty asserted ; and parliaments have their privileges they fought for : we shall then hope, that other laws will have place besides those of the sword ; and that justice shall be otherwise defined, than the will and pleasure of the strongest : and we shall then hope that men will keep oaths again, and not have the necessity of being false and perfidious to preserve themselves, and be like their rulers.

“ All this we hope, from your Highness's happy expiration, who art the true father of your country ; for while you live, we can call nothing ours ; and it is from your death, that we hope for our inheritances.

“ Let this consideration arm and fortify your Highness's mind against the fears of death, and the terrors of your evil conscience, that the good you will do by your death will somewhat balance the evils of your life. And if, in the black catalogue of high malefactors, few can be found, that have lived more to the affliction and disturbance of mankind, than your Highness hath done ; yet your greatest enemies will not deny, that there are likewise as few, that have expired more to the universal benefit of mankind, than your Highness is like to do.

“ To hasten this great good, is the chief end of my writing this paper : and if it have the effect I hope it will, your Highness will quickly be out of the reach of men's malice, and your enemies will only be able to wound you in your memory, which strokes you will not feel.

“ That your Highness may be speedily in this security, is the universal wish of your grateful country !

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This is the desire and prayer of the good and the bad ; and it may be, is the only thing wherein all sects and factions do agree in their devotions, and is our only common-prayer. But amongst all that put in their requests and supplications for your Highness's speedy deliverance from all earthly troubles, none is more assiduous, or more fervent, than he, that with the rest of the nation, hath the honour to be,

May it please your Highness,

Your Highness's present slave and vassal,

W. A."

Cromwell read this spirited treatise and was never seen to smile more. All peace was now for ever banished from his mind. He now found that the grandeur to which he had sacrificed his former peace, was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. The fears of assassination haunted him in all his walks, and was perpetually present to his imagination. He wore armour under his clothes, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom; and he regarded every stranger with a glance of timid suspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him, as there he might meet an enemy; solitude was terrible, as he was there unguarded by every friend.

At *Hampton court* he fell into a kind of slow fever, which soon degenerated into a tertian ague. One day after dinner his five physicians coming to wait on him, one of them having felt his pulse, said that it intermitted,

mitted, at which being somewhat surprised, he turned pale, fell into a cold sweat, and when he was almost fainting, ordered himself to be carried to bed, where, by the assistance of cordials, being brought a little to himself, he made his will, with respect to his private affairs. Being removed to *London*, he became much worse, grew first lethargic, then delirious, from which he recovered a little, but was not capable of giving any distinct direction about public affairs. He was just able to answer yes, to the demand, whether his son *Richard* should be appointed to succeed him. He died on the third of September, 1658, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate of his life; for on that day he won the two great victories of *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, in 1650, and 1651.— A very pompous funeral was ordered at the public expence, and he was buried among our Kings, with a splendor superior to any that has been bestowed on crowned heads.

We cannot conclude this account without remarking, that the author of the *Complete History of England* observes, in his notes, that it remains a question where the body of *Cromwell* was really buried. “ I was, says he, to appearance in *Westminster Abbey*. Some report it was carried below the bridge, and thrown into the *Thames*. But it is most probable that it was buried in *Naseby* field. This account continues he, is given, as averred, and ready to be deposed, if occasion required, by Mr. *Barkstead*, son to Mr. *Barkstead*, the regicide, who was about fifteen years old at the time of *Cromwell's* death: That the said *Barkstead*, his father being Lieutenant of the
Tower

Tower, and a great confident of *Cromwell's*, did, among other such confidents; in the time of his illness, desire to know where he would be buried: To which the Protector answered, where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed where the heat of the action was, viz. in the field at *Naseby Common, Northampton*. Which accordingly was thus performed: At midnight, soon after his death, the body (being first embalmed and wrapt in a leaden coffin) was in a hearse-conveyed to the said field, Mr. *Barkstead* himself attending, by order of his father, close to the hearse. Being come to the field, they found about the midst of it, a grave dug about nine feet deep, with a green sod carefully laid on one side, and the mould on the other; in which the coffin being put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it; care being taken that the surplus mould should be clean removed. Soon after the like care was taken that the field should be entirely ploughed up, and it was sown three or four years successively with corn. Several other material circumstances, says the fore-mentioned author, the said Mr. *Barkstead* relates, too long to be here inserted."

As to the story of his body being sunk in the *Thames*, it was related by a gentlewoman who attended him in his last sickness, as we are told by the author of the History of England during the reign of the royal House of Stuart. She told him, "That the day after the Protector's death, it was consulted how to dispose of his corpse; when it was concluded, that considering the malice of the cavaliers, it was most certain

certain that they would insult the body of their most dreadful enemy, if ever it should be in their power to prevent which it was resolved to wrap it up in lead, to put it on board a barge, and sink it in the deepest part of the *Thames*; which was undertaken and performed by two of his near relations, and some trusty soldiers the following night." So that, upon the whole, it remains a doubt, whether his body was really carried in that pompous funeral procession to *Westminster Abbey*.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION,
IN
THE YEARS 1745, 1746, &c.

AMONG the several attempts in favour of the Pretender to the crown of *Great-Britain*, there were none conducted with such address and secrecy, as that which broke out in the summer of the year 1745 ; and what is no less wonderful than true, some who had engaged in the association to promote his advancement, were never very remarkable for secrecy and reserve.

The principal among the conspirators was *Simon Lord Lovat*, a nobleman of a crafty turn of mind, and who experienced the vicissitudes both of good and bad fortune in the early part of life, and in his more advanced years. When but young he committed a rape upon his aunt-in-law, the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*. To screen himself from justice, he roamed about the Highlands and Western Isles of *Scotland*, and at last retired into *France*. During this period of his

his exile he became perfectly well acquainted with the nature of the people inhabiting these remote parts. As his mother was a daughter of the Laird of *Macleod*, and his grand-mother a daughter of Sir *Donald Macdonald of Slate*, so his misfortunes only furnished him an opportunity of cultivating a correspondence with the different families of these two chieftans, and the other heads of the clans. While in *France* he had occasion to be acquainted with the several orders among the Jesuits, and embracing the Roman Catholic religion, he cherished all her tenets, but none more than those of dissimulation and heretical perfidy; for though he lived and died a Roman Catholic, yet he frequently endeavoured to get himself elected as a member of the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*, and took the oaths once, and again to King *William*, to King *George I.* and *II.* in whose reign he was Captain of an independant company of *Highlanders* for fifteen years; when in the year 1736, Gen. *Wade* having detected the iniquitous methods by which he enriched himself, and imposed upon the government in the most flagitious and oppressive manner. His company, as he gave out, consisted of one hundred and twenty men, besides officers and pipers; but on enquiry it was found that he had pocketed the money, and only remitted a small part of the corn or carriage service to his tenants for appearing at the reviews; on observing the backwardness with which his corps went through the several evolutions of the military exercise, with the uncouth and tawdry condition in which they appeared, he, in consequence of being Lieutenant-General of the King's forces in *Scotland*, broke the company

company and took away the commission of their Captain; at which *Lovat* was so much enraged, that from that day he meditated no less a revenge than that of dethroning the King; in which event General *Wade* and other officers would be involved in the catastrophe and change.

To bring this about he proposed and signed the association formerly mentioned, sent it to *France*, where it was approved, and a promise was given to support it. The old Chevalier was so pleased with it, that he thanked him by a letter under his own hand, promised to pay all the debts upon the estate of *Lovat*, to create him Duke of *Bausford* and *Frazer*, and Lieutenant-General of the Highlands.

The pompous title of Duke of *Frazer*, instead of Lord *Lovat*, the high and distinguishing station of Lieutenant General of the Highlands, instead of being Captain of an independent company of *Frazers*, flattered the ambition of the man, who, notwithstanding he was in the seventy-fourth year of his age, yet expected before his death to be the great subject of the nation, in consequence of having restored the King.

Full of resentment against the government, and big with the hopes of titles, riches, and distinguished appellations, he applied in good earnest to entice the subjects from their allegiance, and to fire them into an inclination to arms. As the people were principally poor and ignorant, yet born with a military genius, so the task became comparatively easy. His circumstances were abundantly opulent, for during the fifteen years in which he retained the command, he saved almost

... .. The broad

gl. every day. At *Edinburgh*, he set up his chariot; his house at *Castle Downie* was daily frequented, and his visitors were hospitably entertained. He told their stories of what happened long ago among the *Highlanders*, magnified the superior advantage of the broadsword and target above the gun and bayonet, ridiculed the custom of bestowing commissions upon children and boys; and to crown all, he interpreted prophecies and dreams. His age was an advantage to him, as it furnished him with a pretext of telling them, without being suspected, fabulous tales about their forefathers, the connections of these with each other, with the neighbouring clans, and with his clan in particular. In fine, he denominated them his cousins, and usually dismissed them with the appellation of children and friends. He had kept up a correspondence with the court of *St. Albans* from the time of the association, and now on the repulse of the Allied army from before *Tournay*, he looked with impatience for an invasion.

The young Pretender was at *Rome* when he first heard of the disappointment which his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* had met with; his flatterers magnified the disaster, and threw the whole blame upon the *British* commander; they charged him with being the cause of the Allied army engaging that day, though that step was entirely owing to the Prince of *Waldeck*: it was easy to persuade a man who thirsted after power, and aspired after a crown. The ambitious young man set out from *Rome* on the 16th of June 1745, and arriving at *Paris* by the way of *Avignon*, he had again conferences with the disaffected there, and with Lord *John Drummond*, and some officers of his regiment

regiment; who had come on purpose to meet him concerning the method of his procedure; and to be more secure he wrote a letter to *John Murray* of *Broughton*, informing him that he intended soon to set out for *Scotland*, and desired that his friends might be ready to join him upon his landing. The letter was transmitted to *Perth*, *Lovat*, *Lochiel*, and others, who all (except *Perth*) were absolutely against his landing at that time. *Murray* wrote him the opinion of his friends; but before the arrival of the letter, the hasty adventurer was set out.

He went to *Port Laxart*, in *Britany*, and there hired a small vessel, in which he embarked only with seven persons, and upon the 15th of July landed in *South Uist*, where his encouragement was far from being answerable to the expectations which he had conceived; old *Clanranald*, the chieftain of the *Macdonalds* in that part, was over in *Arifaig*, dissuading his followers there to join in any enterprize, *Macdonald* of *Buisdale*, *Clanranald's* brother, being on the spot, remonstrated against it with all the eloquence he was master of. The other descendants of the family were of a different opinion; some of them had fought at the battle of *Sheriffmuir*, and wanted to be revenged for the death of their chieftain, who fell there. The young men breathed the same spirit of acrimony and resentment, and the Lady *Clanranald* became the most sanguine in the cause. After some altercation and argument, it was settled that he should repair to the continent; and in case the chieftains there should set up his standard, he might depend upon being joined by the clan under the command of her second son.

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This being settled, he accordingly sent back the vessel, and in an open boat set sail for *Ardenmurchan*, from whence he intimated his arrival to his friends. *Cameron of Lochiel*, and his brother the Doctor, were the first to repair to him; and appeared greatly surprized at seeing him; they earnestly besought him to return; on which with some emotion, he took out the *French* King's obligation to support him, and said with no little warmth: "If you will not set up my standard, deliver me up to the Elector of *Hanover*; for since I am arrived among you upon your own invitation, I am determined not to return." To which *Lochiel* replied, "I must say your Highness uses me ill, to think I could be guilty of delivering you to the Elector; I shall join you, as my honour is engaged; but remember I tell you, that your hasty procedure will render your scheme abortive, and prove the ruin of your friends." The principal heads of the clan were of opinion that the project was impracticable, and threatened to confine their chieftain, notwithstanding the cordial affection which they bore him; however, the remonstrance was in vain: that very night it was agreed to set up his standard, which was a square piece of red silk fixed to a long staff, with a white standard in the middle, and this motto, "*Tandem bona causa triumphans*."—*The good cause at last triumphing*. It was agreed to set it up the next day at *Glenphillan*, provided Lord *Levat* approved of it; and in the mean time Dr. *Cameron* rode away to his Lordship with the news.

Though this nobleman did not applaud the Pretender's impatience, yet he gave it as his opinion that
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the standard should be set up : he promised to send out his own clan, and even head them himself, so soon as his infirmities and sickness were removed. The Doctor returning with *Lovat's* answer, the standard was erected at the place appointed, to which many of the country people came in. With such as here joined him he marched to *Fort William*, where he encamped, and from thence proceeded southwards. They were regimented after the manner of regular troops : The pay of the private men was 8d. *per diem*; and when a party of the *Macdonald's* of *Keppoch's* family surprized seventy new raised men of *Sinclair's* regiment, he granted the booty 50l. to themselves. And here it may be proper to give a character of those principally concerned.

William Marquis of Tullebardin, who had been attainted in the year 1715, was one of the seven that attended him from *France*. He was no soldier, no statesman, and his frequent misfortunes, with a three years imprisonment for debt in *Paris*, had so broken his constitution, that he was very unfit for the design whereon he came : however he was abundantly popular, and in that situation prevailed on a number to join him. General *Macdonald*, a lieutenant-colonel in the *Irish* brigades, Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, whose spouse had suckled the young Pretender, which was the reason of his being knighted ; Mr. *O'Sullivan* ; Mr. *Mechel*, who was his gentleman ; Mr. *Kelly*, a man deeply involved with Dr. *Atterbury*, bishop of *Rechefer*, and a *Guinea* black attended him likewise.

In his way to the south country he was met by several of his friends, such as *James Drummond*, commonly called

called Duke of *Perth*, *John Murray of Broughton*, and *Stuart of Ardsziel*; men abundantly brave, but ignorant of the art of war. And indeed it is to be observed, that he had not one good officer along with him: his dependant was upon his own stratagems, *Sullivan's* schemes, and the bravery of the *Highlanders*, or the alertness of those who should join. But of his real situation, the reader may form a more accurate idea from a brief account of the northern part of the united kingdom.

That part of the united kingdom, called *Scotland*, is about two hundred and forty miles long, and upon a medium about two hundred broad: It contains nine hundred and forty parishes, and the inhabitants of these, amount to the number of 1,500,000 persons, the clergy, women and children included. The country abounds every where with rivers, which yield prodigious quantities of excellent salmon; its extended coast from south to north is one continued white fishery, and its southern and western, is no less remarkable for herrings, which sometimes draw great numbers of people from every quarter. Many rich mines of coal, iron, and lead are to be found within the bowels of its mountains. The southern parts are productive of wheat, and yield excellent pastures. How unhappy for the Adventurer to expect an army from those, and at the same time to take the most unlikely method to procure it. He came among them with a crowd of *Highlanders*, people who were no less disagreeable to the well-peopled counties in the lower part of the kingdom, than the *Sclavonian Pandours* are to the citizens of *Vienna*, or the superstitious *Laplanders*

landers to the inhabitants and burghers of *Stockholm*. Their dress, though the nearest to that of the old *Romans*, was no way agreeable to the people of the south of *Scotland*; and yet the Chevalier, tho' born in the middle of *Italy*, had one made for him and put it on.

This popularity in the remotest parts did him no service as he advanced. Indeed some of the name of *Macgregor*, a clan who had been outlawed for robbery and murder ever since the year 1430, joined him in his way to *Perth*; but in this place he might begin to grieve at his unhappy situation.

If we take a view of North Britain, it may be ranged under four divisions. The eastern which extends from *Berwick-upon-Tweed* to *Edinburgh*; the western, which begins there, and passing along the *Forth*, reaches to the utmost limits of *Argyleshire*; the southern, which proceeds from *Edinburgh* to *Solway Forth*; and the northern, which according to some, stretches from the *Forth* to the *Orkneys*.

No person acquainted with the southern division can have the least doubt of the loyalty of its inhabitants. Scarce can one among a thousand be found in those parts in the least tainted with Jacobitism. Out of the shires of *Roxburgh* and *Selkirk*, which contain about one hundred thousand inhabitants, only three were concerned in the rebellion: two of whom were delirious, and the third had been carried over into *Spain* in his infancy. Out of *Annandale* was only one. His misfortune arose from his situation: he was a prisoner for debt when the Pretender arrived at *Carlisle*: the prison doors were set open: the prisoners joined him;

him; but embraced the first opportunity of quitting his service: they all left him at *Penrith*. From *Kirkcudbright*, *Wigtoun*, and *Lanerk*, were none; from the shires of *Berwick* and *Haddingtoun* were three, and from *Peebles* were only two; so far as could be found upon the strictest enquiry. And these districts put together contain about six hundred thousand inhabitants.

Between the southern and western division lies the shire of *Edinburgh*; which being a place of public resort, especially the city, cannot be free from disaffected people. However the loyalists are by far the most numerous: and this county, including the metropolis, contains about one hundred thousand inhabitants.

From *Edinburgh* we may pass to the western district, which includes the shires of *Linlithgow*, *Galloway*, *Sterling*, *Dumbarton*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Bute*, and *Argyle*; the inhabitants of which may be about four hundred thousand, whose aversion to the Pretender's cause was so conspicuously general, that out of the most wealthy of the western shires there was not a single man in the Pretender's army. On the contrary, many of them appeared in arms for the government.

We cannot indeed say so much for the Loyalty of the inhabitants in the northern division: yet the spirit of disaffection has greatly abated even in these counties, where the same was most notorious and palpable. We shall give a short sketch of these, that the reader may better understand the state and genius of the country: and though we cannot be of opinion, that the shire of *Fife*, so remarkable for her ancient heroes

of old, and for her industrious inhabitants at this time, is a part of the north division; yet we must begin with it, as it is the first county that occurs after crossing the *Forth*.

The shire of *Fife*; in proportion to its extent, is full as populous as any in *England*, *Middlesex* only excepted. It abounds with all the necessaries of life, and enjoys many natural advantages. There are inexhaustible mines of coal and pits of salt; of which the *Fordel* coal is the most entire and cleanly, and burns more brightly than the best *Newcastle* coal. The natives are devoted to trade and manufactory. Scarce ten persons joined the *Highlanders* from her populous districts. On the contrary, many armed against them. Passing from *Fife* we enter the shire of *Forfar*, where the people though generally averse to Presbyterian government, were not averse to his Majesty King *George*; the people of property are to a man well affected, and the commonality so devoted to labour and an industrious way of life, that they want to live in peace and in quietness. Many of them withstood the most awful threatenings to join the Pretender's standard.

Though the counties which lie beyond the *Est*, the utmost boundary of the shire of *Forfar*, may be branded with disloyalty more than their neighbours; yet it is very remarkable that out of the shires of *Kincardin*, *Aberdeen*, *Bamff*; *Murray*, and *Nairn*, there were not eight hundred who joined the insurgents. The shire of *Inverness* was the next where the bulk of them had brandished their arms. The Isles had augmented the rebellious corps, about two thousand from

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Perthshire,

Perthshire crowned the head of the rebellious standard, and a few from *Rossshire* and *Cromarty* supported it. And even in these remote places were to be found numbers of persons extremely well affected : as in the shire of *Sutherland*, which is exceeding poor ; and in the shire of *Caithness*, which though the remotest in *Scotland*, is yet so plentiful, that perhaps there is no a county in the King's dominions which abounds more with the comforts and necessaries of life, and whose natives are more given to hospitality.

Happy for the Pretender had he known the country. He was deceived by others, and indeed he deceived himself : and yet his schemes were hitherto so successful, as not a little to animate such as had joined him. His chief encouragement proceeded from the little resistance which he met with from the King's forces. It is indeed true, that they were too far off to attack the corps that first set up his standard. The real services done him by Sir *John Cope*, the then Lieutenant General of the king's forces in *Scotland*, were beyond the most sanguine expectation of his friends. That officer had never taken care to support the grandeur and dignity of a commander in chief. Being of phlegmatic temper, he was ready to discover an uncommon degree of fire and warmth upon trivial occasions. I have seen him come to the Court of Justiciary, in order to kill a tedious hour, but in a dress far below that of an ordinary gentleman, and almost unattended. Unmoved at the hints which might have arisen in the mind of a man of the least sagacity, he did nothing in consequence of the seizing Sir *Hector Maclean* and *Bleau of Castlehill* ; nor did he exalt himself

himself to get the troops together, although solicited thereto by the officers of state, and by the Earl of *Hume*; though Sir *Duncan Campbell* sent an express to *Edinburgh*, with an account that the Pretender was landed, yet he did not march so soon as he might have done. In short the adventurer was eighteen days openly in the country before *Cope* began to stir; and even after he had begun his march with the forces, who it must be owned were but about fifteen hundred foot, mostly new raised men, supported with only six pieces of cannon, he by his motions gave them all the time and intimation they possibly could wish for: and, as if afraid that they should not have proper intelligence, he at *Daalnacardah*, where the extended desert between *Aithol* and *Ruthven* begins, drew up his men, made them fire their pieces in the air, in order, as he gave out, to see if they were fit for action. This done he marched forward towards *Dalguiny*, where he was within six miles of the insurgents; and here in a council of war his opinion prevailed, neither to march against the enemy, who was ill armed and not supported with cannon, nor yet to return and stop their progress into the low country. He passed by them, and thus left them a free and open passage to march, if they pleased, to the metropolis.

When the Chevalier was informed of this false step of the general, he seemed to be elevated with a joy which he was at no pains to conceal; and, drinking *Cope's* health in a bumper of brandy, he said, "If all the Usurper's officers act like him, I shall soon be at *St. James's*." From that day the two armies widened

widened their distance: the Royalists proceeded to *Inverness*, and the *Highlanders* advanced to *Blair of Athol*, and from thence to *Perth*, which the Chevalier entered in triumph, and ordered his manifestoes to be proclaimed.

While in this place, he was joined by some people of desperate fortunes, such as *Mercer of Aldie*, *Oliphant of Gask*, and *Sir John Wedderburn*; but to his great misfortune, the gentlemen of *Fife* quitted their own houses, sent their plate to the castle of *Edinburgh*, and laid the strongest injunctions upon their tenants and dependants not to join the army of the young Chevalier.

Of the number of these brave gentlemen was Lieutenant General *Philip Preston*, then governor of the castle of *Edinburgh*, an officer of great experience, and whose behaviour had been every way agreeable in the wars of Queen *Anne*; the gentlemen of the name of *Ansfurther*, and *Sir Robert Henderson of Fordel* followed their cousin General *Preston's* example.

This *Sir Robert* is the lineal representative of a very ancient family, not only connected in blood with the first and greatest in the county, but linked to them by the more strong and lasting ties of friendship, correspondence, and a generous deportment. The bravery of this family has been displayed in foreign countries, their distinguished merit has shone in several reigns, and their loyalty stands untainted: many of its branches have been regaled in *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Germany* and *France*. One of them was commander of the first *Scots* guard that was established in *France*; it took its name from a company of young gentlemen who accompanied

accompanied *Margaret, Princess of Scotland*, when she went to be married to *Lewis XII.* 1430 ; a corps to whose fidelity the sacred persons of their kings were entrusted. Another of the descendants contributed greatly to gain the battle of *Lutzen*, on which depended the Protestant cause. Nor is he himself the unworthy son of such famous and renowned ancestors ; for not to insist upon the most amiable disposition, and the most endearing generosity of heart, he has had eyes to see what lay hid from ages, goodness to improve it to the best advantage, and a spirit to carry it into execution for the public utility ; he has, on his own charges, built an harbour, at a place which had not so much as a name ! And future ages cannot fail gratefully to remember the man who did so much for preventing shipwrecks, for saving a number of lives ; and who in the period when the government could best distinguish her friends from her enemies, set the most bright and striking example of loyalty to his fellow subjects ; for in that whole county there was not a single man of the least property who joined the young Chevalier : which might be the reason why his friends and followers treated the country people there with the greater harshness and severity, for being now in *Perth*, they began to spread themselves by detachments into the adjacent villages.

On the seventh of September, a party of *Clanranald's* regiment entered *Dundee*, proclaimed the Pretender, searched the town for arms, horses, and ammunition, and levied the public money. In this excursion a ship with gunpowder was seized ; it was carried up the *Tay* to *Perth*, and there unloaded for the

the Pretender's service. Other parties visited the towns of *Fife*, which county has fourteen large corporation towns, besides many extensive and populous villages, where they rifled the merchants' shops; and, carrying the goods to the Pretender, he ordered that the same should be restored to their respective owners, on their paying the third part of their price. The noblemen and gentlemen's houses were visited by them; money was demanded with impunity, arms and ammunition were laid hold on, the cattle were driven from the parks and inclosures, while the corn and the straw of the farmer and labourer were seized. All was in confusion from these proceedings, and the country was drowned in amazement and surprize.

Such was the situation of the Chevalier's affairs, when General *Cope*, after a stay of five days at *Inverness*, for refreshing his men from the fatigues they had endured, thought of the necessity of marching southward. He had indeed concerted means with *Duncan Forbes*, president of the court of session, for using such means as might be of the greatest efficacy for hindering the Adventurer's army from being recruited, which was so far prudent and wise. In other things he acted without thought, and fell into the mistake of despising the enemy, and of declaring his contempt to the gentlemen who proffered their service to the government. He called the *Highlanders* a raw banditti, without considering that the bulk of his own soldiers were raw new raised men; nor did he so much as thank the people who offered to join the King's forces.

On the 4th of September he set out for *Aberdeen*,
where,

where, according to his own desire, there were transports ready to conduct the troops under his command to *Leith*: and though the poor people of the districts through which he passed did every thing in their power to support the spirits and courage of the soldiers, and the noblemen and gentlemen did whatever could be expected toward rendering the march agreeable to him and the officers, yet he ordered the encampment to be fixed amid the ripe standing corn, contrary to the remonstrances both of the proprietors and of the soldiers themselves. In this march Captain *Munro* accompanied him, with two hundred of his name.

On the 11th of September, the day the Chevalier set out from *Perth*, the army arrived at *Aberdeen*, where they halted till the 15th, when they embarked on board the transports, that had been sent to bring them up. They sailed for *Leith*, and entering the *Forth* on the 17th, they had information, that the Pretender's army had got possession of *Edinburgh*, where his manifestoes had been proclaimed: an account which determined him to divert his course to *Dunbar*, where that night the forces were disembarked, in order to march as soon as possible against the enemy: who, in consequence of the fatal steps taken by the King's officers, had made a surprizing progress.

For having intelligence of the sailing of the transports to *Aberdeen*, and of the march of the troops from *Inverness*, they set out from *Perth* on the 11th, and on the 18th forded the *Forth* at the *Frew*, where Col. *Gardiner's* dragoons made a shew to oppose them; had *Gardiner* been in his vigour, as formerly, he
might

might with his single regiment have prevented their passing over : had the dragoons alighted, and marched with two pieces of cannon, which might soon have been brought from the castle of *Stirling* to the brink of the river, it is scarcely possible to imagine that the insurgents, without artillery, and even without arms, would have attempted it ; many of them had only pitchforks, and were without firelocks : however the Colonel was valetudinary ; fame had magnified the number of the enemy, and he did not chuse to run any hazards ; he retired before them to *Edinburgh*, and they followed but slowly after him. The fruitless parade made by the citizens only tended to animate the insurgents, and to furnish them with arms. The citizens, in an amazement, called a council on what was proper to be done ; every one spoke as he pleased ; the disaffected magnified the danger, and filled the friends of the government with fear ; the soldiers of the city guard were the most abject and most paltry of wretches ; *Maitland* their officer, who died mad, was an infamous bankrupt, addicted to drunkenness and hypocrisy, a coward, and unacquainted with discipline. By protracting the time in sending out deputies to the Chevalier, and receiving messages from him, the night was turned, and the morning began to appear. A coachman, who had carried one of these deputations, was urgent to get out of the town. At his earnest entreaty the port was opened, and the clan *Cameron* instantly rushed in, seized on the centries, and marching directly to the guard-house, they laid hold not only of the arms belonging to the town-guard, but also of all that they found in the hands of the

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the volunteers and trained bands; a very fortunate circumstance indeed for them, and which paved a way for the easy victory that was gained on the fourth day hereafter.

Before five in the morning both the city and suburbs were occupied, and they began to supply themselves with such necessaries as they wanted; clothes, linen, shoes, and bonnets; were prepared for their use, and the armourers rubbed up their weapons; the generality of them were in very ragged attire, having only a short coat of course tartan, a pair of plaid hose much worn, reaching scarce above the calf of the leg, their plaids and bonnets in the same condition.

By eight in the morning the adventurer arrived at *Duddingston*, having fetched an half compass about the city for fear of the guns from the castle, and about nine he entered the place of *Holyrood-house, Perth*, riding on his right, and Lord *Elcho*, who had joined him the night before, on his left hand; the multitude buzza'd as he passed along, and he seemed extremely pleased with his reception. He was a slender young man, about five feet ten inches high, of a ruddy complexion, high nosed, large rolling brown eyes, long visaged; his chin was pointed, and his mouth small in proportion to his other features; his hair was red, but at that time he wore a pale peruke; he was in an Highland habit, with a blue sash wrought with gold, coming over his shoulder, red velvet breeches, a green velvet bonnet with a gold lace round it, and a white cockade, which was the cross of *St. Andrew*; he wore a silver hilted broad sword, was booted, and had a pair of pistols before him; his speech seemed to have

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more of the *English* than the *Scottish* accent, and no way painful and distorted, as that of a foreigner generally is.

Every thing having succeeded so well, the Chevalier's first care was to publish his father's and his own manifestoes : the heralds were seized, and proceeded to the cross in their robes, with a trumpeter blowing a trumpet before them ; and while the Clan *Cameron* surrounded the cross in three divisions, the doors and windows were crowded with spectators of the unusual scene ; the following manifestoes were read over, which, however well understood by the spectators, it is more than probable the fortieth man of the encircling guard did not know a single sentence of them.

His MAJESTY'S most gracious Declaration.

JAMES R.

JAMES VIII. by the grace of God, King of *Scotland, England, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects of what degree and quality soever. • Greeting.

Having always borne the most constant affection to our ancient kingdom of *Scotland*, from whence we derive our royal origin, and where our progenitors have swayed the sceptre with glory, through a longer succession of kings than any monarchy upon earth can at his day boast of, we cannot but behold, with the deepest concern, the miseries they suffer under a foreign usurpation, and the intolerable burdens daily added to their yoke, which become yet more sensible — us, when we consider the constant zeal and affection

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tion the generality of our subjects of that our ancient kingdom have expressed for us on all occasions, and particularly when we had the satisfaction of being ourselves among them.

We see a nation always famous for valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province, under the specious pretence of an union with a more powerful neighbour. In consequence of this pretended union grievous and unprecedented taxes have been laid on and levied with severity, in spite of all the representations that could be made to the contrary; and these have not failed to produce that poverty and decay of trade, which were easily foreseen to be the necessary consequences of such oppressive measures.

To prevent the just resentment which could not but arise from such usage, our faithful Highlanders, a people always trained up and inured to arms, have been deprived of them; forts and citadels have been built and garrisoned, where no foreign invasion could be apprehended, and a military government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered country. It is easy to foresee what must be the consequence of such violent and unprecedented proceedings, if a timely remedy be not put to them; neither is it less manifest, that such a remedy can ever be obtained but by our restoration to the throne of our ancestors, into whose royal hearts such destructive maxims could never find admittance.

We think it needless to call to mind how solicitous we have ever been, and how often we have ventured our royal person, to compass this great end, which the
divine

divine Providence seems now to have furnished us with the means of doing effectually, by enabling our good subjects in *England* to shake off the yoke under which they have likewise felt their share of the common calamities. Our former experience leaves us no room to doubt of the cheerful and hearty concurrence of our *Scots* subjects on this occasion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious work: but that none may be deterred by the memory of past miscarriages, from returning to their duty, and being restored to the happiness they formerly enjoyed, we, in this public-manner, think fit to make known our gracious intentions towards all our people.

We do therefore, by this our royal declaration, absolutely and effectually pardon and remit all treasons, and other crimes hitherto committed against our royal father or ourselves: from the benefit of which pardon we expect none, but such as shall, after the publication hereof, wilfully and maliciously oppose us, or those, who shall appear, or endeavour to appear, in arms for our service,

We farther declare, that we will with all convenient speed, call a free parliament, that, by the advice and assistance of such an assembly, we may be enabled to repair the breaches caused by so long an usurpation, to redress all grievances, and to free our people from the unsupportable burden of the malt-tax, and all other hardships and impositions which have been the consequence of the pretended union, that so the nation may be restored to that honour, liberty, and independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

We likewise promise, upon our Royal word, to protect,

protect, secure, and maintain all our Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the secure possession of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, that conform to the laws of the land.

All this we shall be ready to confirm in our first parliament, in which we promise to pass any act or acts that shall be judged necessary to secure each private person in the full possession of his liberty and property, to advance trade, to relieve the poor, and establish the general welfare and tranquility of the nation : in all such matters we are fully resolved to act always by the advice of our parliament, and to value none of our titles so much, as that of *Common Father of our People*, which we shall ever shew ourselves to be, by our constant endeavours to promote the quiet and happiness of all our subjects. And we shall be particularly solicitous to settle, encourage, and maintain the fishery and linen manufactory of the nation, which we are sensible may be of such advantage to it, and which, we hope, are works reserved for us to accomplish.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of our just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to reward them according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, our full, free, and general pardon, to all officers, soldiers; and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, whether of the sea or land, provided that, upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight
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or battle against our forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty: in which case we shall pay them all the arrears that shall be at that time due to them from the usurper: we shall grant to the officers the same commissions they shall then bear, if not higher; and to all soldiers and sailors a gratification of a whole year's pay, for their forwardness in promoting our service.

We farther promise and declare, that the vassals of such as shall, without regard to our present declaration, obstinately persist in their rebellion, and thereby forfeit all pretensions to our Royal clemency, shall be delivered from all servitude they were formerly bound to, and shall have grants and charters of their lands to be held immediately of the crown, provided they, upon the publication of this our declaration, declare openly for us, and join heartily in the cause of their country.

And having thus declared our gracious intentions to our loving subjects, we do hereby require and command them to be assisting to us in the recovery of our rights, and of their own liberties; and that all our subjects, from the age of sixteen to sixty, do, upon the setting up of the Royal standard, immediately repair to it, or join themselves to such as shall first appear for us in their respective shires; and also to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

We also strictly command all receivers, collectors or others, who may be seized of any sum or sums of money, levied in the name or for the use of the
usurper

usurper, to retain such sum or sums of money in their own hands, till they can pay them to some person of distinction appearing publicly for us, and demanding the same for our use and service, whose receipt or receipts shall be a sufficient discharge for all such collectors, receivers, or other persons, their heirs, &c.

Lastly, We do hereby require all sheriffs of shires, stewards of stewartries, and their respective deputies, magistrates of royal boroughs, and bailies of regalities, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market crosses of their respective towns and boroughs, and there to proclaim us, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for their neglect of so necessary and important a duty.

*Given at our Court at Rome, the twenty-third day
of December, 1743, in the forty-third year of our
Reign.*

J. R.

JAMES R.

WHEREAS we have a near prospect of being restored to the throne of our ancestors, by the good inclinations of our subjects towards us; and whereas, on account of the present situation of this country, it will be absolutely impossible for us to be in person at the first setting up of our Royal standard, and even some time after; we therefore esteem it for our service, and the good of our kingdoms and dominions, to nominate and appoint, as we hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint, our dearest son *Charles Prince of Wales*, to be sole regent of our kingdoms of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and of all other
our

our dominions during our absence. It is our will and intention, that our said dearest son should enjoy, and exercise all that power and authority, which, according to the ancient constitution of our kingdoms have been enjoyed and exercised by former regents. Requiring all our faithful subjects to give all due submission and obedience to our regent aforesaid, as immediately representing our Royal person, and acting by our authority. And we do hereby revoke all commissions of regency granted to any person or persons whatsoever. And lastly, We hereby dispense with all formalities, and other omissions that may be herein contained, declaring this our commission to be as firm and valid, to all intents and purposes, as if it had passed our great seals, and as if it were according to the usual style and forms.

Given under our sign manual and privy signet at our Court at Rome, the twenty-third day of December, 1743, in the forty-third year of our Reign.

(L. S.)

J. R.

CHARLES P. R.

BY virtue and authority of the above commission of regency, granted unto us by the King our Royal father, we are now come to execute his Majesty's will and pleasure, by setting up his Royal standard, and asserting his undoubted right to the throne of his ancestors.

We do therefore, in his Majesty's name, and pursuant to the tenor of his several declarations, hereby grant a free, full and general pardon for all treasons, rebellions, and offences whatsoever, committed at any
time

time before the publication hereof, against our Royal grandfather, his present Majesty, and ourselves. To the benefit of this pardon we shall deem justly intitled all such of his Majesty's subjects, as shall testify their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our forces with all convenient diligence, by setting up his Royal standard in other places, by repairing for our service to any place where it shall be set up ; or, at least, by openly renouncing all allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his orders ; or to those of any person or persons commissioned or employed by him or acting avowedly for him.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of his Majesty's just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to have them rewarded according to their respective degrees and merits ; and we particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free, and general pardon to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, provided that upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against his Majesty's forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty ; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements, entered into with a foreign usurper, can dispense with the allegiance they owe to their natural sovereign. And, as a farther encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer, the same, or a higher post in our service, than that which at present he enjoys, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to him at the time of his declaring for us, and to

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every

every foldiet, trooper and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given to each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdoms shall be in a state of tranquillity.

We do hereby farther promise and declare, in his Majesty's name, and by virtue of the above-said commission, that, as soon as ever that happy state is obtained, he will, by and with the advice of a free parliament, wherein no corruption, nor undue influence whatsoever, shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or elected, settle, confirm, and secure all the rights, ecclesiastical and civil, of each of his respective kingdoms; his Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the church of *England* as by law established, and likewise the Protestant churches of *Scotland* and *Ireland* conformable to the laws of each respective kingdom, together with a toleration to all Protestant dissenters; he being utterly averse to all persecution and oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of conscience and religion. And we ourselves, being perfectly convinced of the reasonableness and equity of the same principles, do, in consequence hereof, farther promise and declare, that all his Majesty's subjects shall be, by him and us, maintained in the full enjoyment and possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and especially of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, conformable to the laws of the land, which shall ever be the unalterable rule of his Majesty's government, and our own actions.

And,

And, that this our undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconveniency as possible to the King's subjects, we do hereby authorize and require all civil officers and magistrates, now in place and office, to continue till farther orders, to execute their respective employments in our name and by our authority, as far as may be requisite for the maintenance of common justice, order, and quiet; willing and requiring them, at the same time, to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may from time to time be issued out by us, or those who shall be vested with any share of our authority and power.

We also command and require all officers of the revenue, customs and excise, all tax gatherers of what denomination soever, and all others who may have any part of the public money in their hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal commander authorised by us, and take his receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient discharge; and in case of refusal, we authorize and charge all such our commanders to exact the same for our use, and to be accountable for it to us, or our officers for that purpose appointed.

And having thus sincerely, and in the presence of Almighty God, declared the true sentiments and intentions of the King our Royal father, as well as our own in this expedition, we do hereby require and command all his loving subjects to be assisting to us in the recovery of his just rights, and of their own liberties: and that all such, from the age of sixteen to sixty, do forthwith repair to his Majesty's Royal Standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their
respective

respective shires for his service: and also to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and all whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

I lastly, we do hereby require all mayors, sheriffs, and other magistrates of what denomination soever, their respective deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market-crosses of their respective cities, towns, and boroughs, and there to proclaim his Majesty, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for the neglect of so necessary and important a duty. For as we have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and gracious pardon for all that is passed, so we at the same time, seriously warn all his Majesty's subjects, that we shall leave to the rigour of the law, all those who shall from henceforth oppose us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any act or acts civil or military, to the lett or detriment of us, our cause or title, or to the destruction, prejudice, or annoyance of those, who shall according to their duty and our intentions thus publicly signified, declare and act for us.

Given at *Paris* the 16th of May 1745.

C. P. R.

It is needless to take up the reader's time in a confutation of these papers, or of those of the 22d of August, the 9th and 10th of October 1745, as this has been so frequently and so judiciously done: "They were," said Sir *William Young*, "an abridgment of the many "scandalous libels, calumnies, and falsehoods published
"against

“against this constitution and government,” and were, in obedience to an order of the House of Peers, with the hearty concurrence of the commons, burnt by the hand of the common hangman.

The resolution of the two houses of parliament is too important not to be inserted here, especially as the same was not the effect of a sudden transport of passion, but of the utmost deliberation and coolness; for on the 6th of November they were read in the House of Lords, when a committee was appointed to consider them, and to prepare a commentary upon them, which was to be communicated to the House of Commons, who were desired to come to a conference in the Painted Chamber at three o'clock in the afternoon of next day; the desire was agreed to, a number was named, and met the Lords at the time appointed; and the resolution being laid before the whole, it was unanimously confirmed and ratified. The tenor of which is as follows :

Resolved,

“By the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, that the two papers respectively signed *James R.* and dated at *Rome* the 23d day of December 1743, and the four printed papers signed *Charles P. R.* dated respectively the 16th day of May, 1745, August the 22d, 1745, the 9th day of October, 1745, and the 10th day of October, 1745, are false scandalous and traiterous libels, intended to poison the minds of his Majesty's subjects; containing the most malicious, audacious, and wicked encitements to them to commit the most
“abominable

" abominable treasons: groundless and infamous
 " calumnies and indignities against the government,
 " crown, and sacred person of his most excellent
 " Majesty King *George II.* our only rightful and un-
 " doubted sovereign; and seditious and presumptuous
 " declarations against the constitution of this united
 " kingdom; representing the high court of Parliament,
 " now legally assembled by his Majesty's authority, as
 " an unlawful assembly; and all the acts of parliament,
 " passed since the late happy revolution, as null and
 " void; and that the said printed papers are full of the
 " utmost arrogance and insolent affronts to the honour
 " of the British nation, in supposing that his Majesty's
 " subjects are capable of being imposed upon, seduced
 " or terrified, by false and opprobrious invectives,
 " insidious promises or vain and impotent menaces;
 " or of being deluded to exchange the free enjoyment
 " of their rights and liberties, as well civil as reli-
 " gious, under the well-established government of a
 " protestant prince, for popery and slavery under a
 " Popish bigotted Pretender; long since excluded by
 " the wisest laws made to secure our excellent consti-
 " tution, and abjured by the most solemn oaths."

Resolved,

" By the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Com-
 " mons in Parliament assembled, that in abhorrence
 " and detestation of such vile and treasonable practices,
 " the said several printed papers be burnt by the hands
 " of the common hangman, at the *Royal Exchange* at
 " *London*, on Tuesday the 12th day of this instant
 " month, at one of the clock in the afternoon;
 " and

"and that the sheriffs of *London* do then attend, and "cause the same to be burnt there accordingly." These orders were punctually obeyed, amidst the repeated acclamations of a prodigious multitude.

The declarations being read, which sufficiently pointed out the intentions of the adventurer, and the spirit of his party, he next day sent to the magistrates of *Edinburgh* a paper, requiring, on pain of military execution, 1000 tents, 2000 targets, 6000 pair of shoes, and a proportionable number of white iron cantines, against the 23d; all which was furnished at the time appointed.

Next day an order was read over the cross, "requiring all the inhabitants of the city and suburbs, "and all the county of *Mid-Lothian*, to give up at "their own expence the whole arms and ammunition "in their custody, under pain of being deemed as "rebels and treated as such."

This order was likewise obeyed, and to strengthen himself still further, a drum beat up for soldiers in the Pretender's name: whoever could raise 40 men was to be made a captain, and whoever could bring 20 men into the field was to have a lieutenant's commission. This encouragement had its effect also; for many raw and unexperienced young men, of no prospects or fortunes, had commissions given them: but indeed there was not a proportionable number of private men; all wanted to be officers; they were anxious about preferment, and desirous of command.

Among other advantages reaped from getting possession of the city of *Edinburgh*, that of obtaining the printing-houses was not the least: one *Drummond* had
already

already printed his declaration, and now the newspaper, known by the name of the *Caledonian Mercury*, was by its conductor, *James Grant*, moulded to his mind. The Chevalier was presented as another *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, with this superior difference, that the former was more cool and deliberate than he. When the King's speech came out, though as fine a one as ever came from a throne, it was commented on, and called "The Elector of *Hanover's* Speech to his "pretended Parliament."

When the flame of rebellion was burning with unusual fierceness, and while the flashes thereof daily increased, *Cope* was at *Dunbar* joined by the volunteers of the city *Edinburgh*, and by two regiments of dragoons under Brigadier *Fowkes*, who had lately come from *England* to command them.

The Earl of *Hume*, with other noblemen and gentleman, did every thing in their power to render his expedition agreeable; they furnished the troops with every thing necessary, and procured intelligence of the enemy's motions; nor indeed were these behind them in that particular, for on the very night of their debarking, one *John Stuart*, commonly called *Roy*, from the redness of his hair, mingled with the country people, and in the habit of a farmer counted them as they stepped on the shore, or advanced to the place of rendezvous. This *Roy Stuart* was extremely well adapted to an undertaking, however arduous or desperate: he had been a sergeant in one of the independent Highland companies, afterward quarter-master in the regiment of Greys, and at this time captain of grenadiers in Lord *John Drummond's* battalion; he had
carried

carried on the correspondence between the Pretender and Lord *Lovat*, and now in hopes of making his fortune, he went on board a ship from *Holland*, landed at *Harwich*, and without stopping, landed at the camp of the adventurer.

As *Cope* had resolved to beat up the Pretender's quarters, so he set out for *Haddington* on the 19th, the very day on which the insurgents were strengthened by 350 by the name of *Grant* from *Glenmoriston*. At *Haddington* the army was received in the most affectionate manner, not only by the town's people, but by those of the adjacent villages: and being extremely well accommodated, they next day marched westward to meet the enemy, who that very morning had set out from *Edinburgh* to give battle to the King's forces. These to their great misfortune instead of marching to the *Eske*, and planting a battery of cannon upon the bridge thereof, halted on a corn-field near *Preston-pans*, in order to wait for the enemy. Here they were regaled by the country people, and dined plentifully; but scarce was dinner over, when the Chevalier appeared with 2,500 men, but without any kind of artillery, on the side of a hill, directly to the southward of them. Both sides raised an huzza, and now was the time for *Cope* to attack, while it was the business of the enemy to wait patiently till the twilight, if not till the dawn of the morning; the latter was what actually happened; for after spending a night of silence, about three in the morning they crossed through some inclosures, and coming upon the flank of *Cope's* lines, they attacked them with hideous acclamations, gave them a full fire all at once, and then run in sword in hand. The dragoons startled at the

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noise, fled off all at once, and disordered their own infantry, which at this time was overpowered: the onset was so sudden, that in less than a minute the rout was total, and the carnage became terrible indeed, the Highlanders pursuing the poor soldiers with unspeakable fierceness and antipathy; many of them being cut in pieces as they were clambering over some inclosures for their lives; others were overtaken, and cut in the most inhuman manner by broad swords and *Lochaber* axes, the authority of the officers being unable to restrain their rage.

In this battle about 360 of the King's troops were killed, among whom were the pious Colonel *James Gardiner*, five captains, and one ensign. There were about 500 wounded, among whom were Lieutenant-colonel *Whitney*, and Major *Bowles* of *Hamilton's* dragoons. The fate of this last worthy gentleman was every way deplorable: they had cut him cruelly in eleven different places, and perhaps would have finished him, had not *O'Sullivan* accidentally come by, when the Major said to him, "Sir, you seem to be an officer and a gentleman, pray don't suffer them to use me so cruelly, for you see I am disarmed." The Master of *Torphichen* was treated in much the same manner. About 83 officers were taken prisoners, and several of these were wounded or hurt, with about 1150 private men: all the rest being either killed or wounded. And this with little loss on the side of the Pretender's army; of whom there were only two captains, one lieutenant, and one ensign killed, with about forty private men, and eighty wounded. The artillery consisting of six pieces of cannon

cannon and two cohorns, fell into their hands, as did all the tents, the military chest, with *Cope's* baggage, and the equipage of the other officers. Four thousand and ninety pounds were only found in the military chest, the rest being secured in the *For* man of war, or at *Haddington*; which was the only prudent step that had been taken during this inglorious campaign. The dragoons lost no more than fifty, including killed, wounded, and prisoners. And thus was an army of about 1624 foot, mostly raw men, and but raised in the summer before, with two regiments of dragoons, destroyed almost in the twinkling of an eye, merely through the sullen behaviour and headstrong obstinacy of a general officer: who rode to *Lauder* with the shattered part of the dragoons, and from thence proceeded by himself to *London*, to be the messenger of his own disaster. On the 29th he appeared at *St. James's*, where the eyes of the whole court were fixed upon him; and the King coming into the drawing-room said, "Well *Cope*, I have "heard lately much about you. Has there been a "battle?" Being answered, with a profound reverence, "there has;" his Majesty replied, "I see you "are safe and sound; but what's become of my "men?" To this he was incapable of giving a satisfactory answer; which the Sovereign observing, he turned upon his heel, and, with a visible concern, directed his discourse to another person; and never after consulted him in any plan of operation. While *Cope* was at *London*, the living witness of his own shame, and while the wounded, who had escaped from the enemy, carried the dismal marks of a brutal fury in,
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the numerous and inhuman cuts they had received, the Chevalier was at *Holyrood-house*, increasing his party and forwarding his cause.

The consequences of a battle are not to be judged of from the number of the slain, or from a passage that may be opened to a fortress which one army was desirous to besiege, and another wanted to relieve. More substantial advantages flowed from the defeat of the King's troops at *Preston*: almost all the arms of the whole body of foot and of the volunteers, with several firelocks and broad swords belonging to the dragoons, fell into the hands of the victors, and these were distributed among the recruits, whom the Marquis of *Tullibardin* was sending up to them. The whole of *North Britain* was now in their power. Officers were chosen to act in the Pretender's name: though indeed none would undertake to act, except in the places where there was a force sufficient to enjoin the orders: and this might be one of the reasons of his delaying to march into *England*. Parties were sent into different places to collect the public money, and to take up any arms that had been secreted. The goods in the custom-house of *Leith* were sold by auction; and in some places the land-tax was brought in; though it must be owned, many of the officers of the revenue quitted the kingdom, and carried off the money that was in their hands, to be delivered to those who had a better right to receive it. Five thousand guineas were raised from the citizens of *Glasgow*, and about as much from the gentlemen in the neighbourhood: whose bureaux were broke open, and repositories forcibly pulled down.

Such was the behaviour of the party whom he sent out; nor could he with all his address and policy palliate their conduct. A proclamation to make no rejoicing for the late victory, as it had been obtained by the blood of his Majesty's subjects, was highly extolled by his friends; while the following declaration opened the mouths of his enemies, but particularly the clergy, whose affection to the government shone at this time with a surprizing lustre.

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

WHEREAS we are informed, that several of our subjects, as well clergy as laity, in our ancient city of *Edinburgh*, and neighbourhood thereof, did associate and take up arms against us; and that many of them fled from their houses, lest they had been prosecuted, and made examples of, as their crimes demerited:

And whereas we have nothing at heart but the good of all our subjects, how much soever deluded by the prejudice of education or mistaken interest; and being always disposed, as a true father of our country, to display that mercy and tenderness natural to us, and the distinguishing characteristic of our family:

We do therefore, in his Majesty's name, hereby grant a full pardon to the persons associated as aforesaid, for all treasons, rebellions, and offences whatsoever, committed by them at any time before the publication of these presents, whether against our Royal Grandfather of blessed memory, his present Majesty,

Majesty, or ourselves, dispensing with the generality hereof, and admitting the same to be as effectual, to all intents and purposes, as if all their names had been herein set down: Provided always that the persons aforesaid present themselves within twenty-four days after the publication hereof, to our trusty and beloved counsellor *John Murray of Broughton*, Esq. our secretary, or any one of our council appointed for that purpose, at our palace of *Holyrood-house*, or where else we shall be for the time, with a declaration that they shall live for the future as quiet and peaceable subjects to us and our government, otherwise these presents to be of no effect to them. Given at our palace of *Holyrood-house*, the twenty-fourth day of September, and of his Majesty's reign the forty-fifth year, 1745.

CHARLES, P. R.

By his Highness's command, Jo. Murray.

This declaration, which had for his own sake been better let alone, was productive of nothing advantageous to him. His popularity in declaring, that if his scheme succeeded, "*Scotland* should be his *Han-*" "*over*, the palace of *Holyrood-house* his *Herenhausen*," was not believed: the bulk of the people were of the complexion formerly mentioned. Let the fewness of his followers, even after a regular army had been destroyed, speak their loyalty. And a fruitless attempt to reduce the castle of *Edinburgh*, by cutting off all communication with the country, tended to confirm them the more in their affection to the Government.

This daring enterprize, to which he was so unequal, was the occasion of the garrison's firing several cannon for keeping the avenues clear: and yet it is observable,

able that no cannon were fired till General *Guest*, the then commander of the forces, had intimated, by a letter, his intention to the magistrates of the city ; which, when they carried to the Chevalier, he sent them the following reply, wrote by his own hand :

“ Gentlemen,

“ I am not a little surprised at the inhuman orders
 “ of the commanders of the castle of *Edinburgh*. and
 “ which, they say, they received from the Elector of
 “ *Hanover*. If he looked upon you as his subjects, he
 “ would never require of you what he knows to be
 “ out of your power to grant. It is impossible to pre-
 “ vent inconveniencies in cases of this nature ; but I
 “ shall take care to have all sufferers indemnified, as
 “ soon as the public tranquillity is restored, and in the
 “ mean time shall make full reprisals upon the estates
 “ of all those who are abettors of the German Go-
 “ vernment. “ C. P. R.”

This chimerical blockade lasted but three days, when they laid hold of a packet from *London*, directed to the garrison of the fort, to spare the city as much as possible ; but to keep the avenues clear, till the force destined for its relief should arrive among them. The Chevalier, to be before hand with this gentle and pacific order, caused the following proclamation to be posted up in the public places of the town.

“ C. P. R.

“ The Prince Regent taking into consideration the
 “ many murders committed upon the innocent inha-
 “ bitants of the city of *Edinburgh*, has of his innate
 “ clemency, the distinguishing characteristic of his
 “ family,

“ family, yielded to the supplications of the distressed,
 “ and considering that justice ought to give place to
 “ mercy, when the good of a people require it, he
 “ therefore takes the blockade off the castle, and com-
 “ mands, upon his part, all hostilities to cease.”

He ever affected to treat the person of his Majesty King *George* with indignity ; and no sooner heard of the Parliament being summoned to meet Oct. 17th, than he emitted a declaration, discharging the same, and next day published his last manifesto.

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging : Unto all his Majesty's Subjects of what degree soever, Greeting.*

CHARLES P. R.

AS soon as we, conducted by the Providence of God, arrived in *Scotland*, and were joined by a handful of our royal father's subjects, our first care was to make public his most gracious declaration ; and, in consequence of the large powers by him vested in us, in quality of regent, we also emitted our own manifesto, explaining and enlarging the promises formerly made, according as we came to be better acquainted with the inclinations of the people of *Scotland*. Now that it has pleased God so far to smile on our undertaking, as to make us masters of the ancient kingdom of *Scotland*, we judge it proper, in this public manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the hearts of all his Majesty's subjects, of what nation --^d province soever, with comfort and satisfaction.

We

We therefore hereby, in his Majesty's name declare, that his sole intention is to re-instate all his Subjects in the full enjoyment of their religion, laws and liberties; and that our present attempt is not undertaken in order to enslave a free people, but to redress and remove the encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure to them all the enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established among them, either in *England, Scotland, or Ireland*; and if it shall be deemed proper that any further security be given to the established church or clergy, we hereby promise, in his name, That he shall pass any law that his parliament shall judge necessary for that purpose.

In consequence of the rectitude of our royal father's intentions, we must further declare his sentiments with regard to the national debt: that it has been contracted under an unlawful government, nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest part due to those very subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his parliament concerning it, in which he thinks he acts the part of a just prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions.

Farthermore, we here in his name declare, that the same rule laid down for the funds, shall be followed with respect to every law or act of parliament since the revolution; and in so far as, in a free and legal parliament, they shall be approved, he will confirm them. With respect to the pretended union of the

two nations, the King cannot possibly ratify it, since he has had repeated remonstrances against it from each kingdom ; and since it is incontestible, that the principal point then in view, was the exclusion of the Royal Family from their undoubted right to the crown, for which purpose the grossest corruptions were openly used to bring it about. But whatever may be hereafter devised for the joint benefit of both nations, the King will most readily comply with the request of his parliaments to establish.

And now that we have, in his Majesty's name, given you the most ample security for your religion, properties and laws, that the power of a British sovereign can grant ; we hereby, for ourselves, as heir apparent to the crown, ratify and confirm the same in our own name, before Almighty God, upon the faith of a Christian, and the honour of a Prince.

Let me now expostulate this weighty matter with you, my father's subjects, and let me not omit this first public opportunity of awakening your understandings, and of dispelling that cloud which the assiduous pens of ill-designing men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the truth. Do not the pulpits and congregations of clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats of popery, slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of *France* and *Spain*?

Is not my Royal Father represented as a bloodthirsty tyrant breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion?

religion? Or, have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth.

I, with my own money hired a small vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in *Scotland*, attended by seven persons; I published the King my father's declaration, and proclaimed his title, with pardon in one hand, and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free parliament shall propose for the happiness of a people. I have, I confess, the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has in so remarkable a manner, protected me and my small army through the many dangers to which we were at first exposed, and who has led me the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the King my father's subjects: why then is so much pains taken to spirit up the minds of the people against this my undertaking?

The reason is obvious, it is lest the real sense of the nation's present sufferings should blot out the remembrance of past misfortunes, and of the outcries formerly raised against the royal family. Whatever miscarriages might have given occasion to them, they have been more than atoned for since; and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

That our family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years, every body knows. Has the nation, during that period of time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors, as the fathers of the people of *Great-Britain and Ireland*? Has a family, upon whom
a faction

a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown, than in my Royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they, or do they consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative, why has their government been so often railed at in your public assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out in vain for redress against the abuses of parliament, upon account of their long duration, the multitude of placemen, which occasions their venality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, against the miserable situation of the kingdom at home and abroad? All these and many more inconveniences must now be removed, unless the people of *Great-Britain* be already so far corrupted, that they will not accept of freedom when offered to them; seeing the King on his restoration, will refuse nothing that a free parliament can ask for the security of the religion, laws, and liberty of the people.

The fears of the nation, from the powers of *France* and *Spain*, appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either: but indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Hessians*, and *Swiss*, the Elector of *Hanover*'s allies, being called over to defend his government against the King's subjects, is it not high time for the King my father to accept also of the assistance of those who are
able,

able, and who have engaged to support him? But will the world, or any one man of sense in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary Prince, rather than an independent Monarch? Who has the better chance to be independent on foreign powers? He, who with the aid of his own subjects, can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder: or he, who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he had ruled over so many years? Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment, let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put the whole upon the issue of a battle; I will trust only to the King my father's subjects, who were or shall be engaged in mine and their country's cause: but, notwithstanding all the opposition he can make, I still trust in the justice of my cause, the valour of my troops, and the assistance of the Almighty, to bring my enterprize to a glorious issue.

It is now time to conclude, and I shall do it with this reflection. Civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party-rage never fails to produce in the minds of those, whom different interests, principles, or views, set in opposition to one another; I therefore earnestly require it of my friends, to give as little loose as possible to such passions; this will prove the most effectual means to prevent the same in the enemies of our royal cause. And this my declaration will vindicate to all posterity the nobleness of my undertaking, and the generosity of my intentions.

Given at our palace of *Holyrood-house*, the 10th day of October, 1745.

C. P. R.

By his Highness's command, *J. Murray*.

Nothing now hindered his advancing into *England* except the conduct of Lord *Lovat*, whom they were soliciting by frequent letters to join them; but that nobleman was unwilling to throw off the mask and to appear openly. He had been a rebel in his heart even in the year 1715; but did not join the Pretender's standard because one *Mackenzie* of *Frazerdale*, who had married the heiress of *Lovat*, headed the clan, to the exclusion of him, as he was the heir male of that family. He indeed staid at home, but no sooner did the news arrive that the Duke of *Argyle* had defeated the rebels, than he mustered up those very men who had appeared at the battle of *Sheriffmuir* against the Royalists, and at their head he joined those in arms for the government

At this time he imagined, that he might play the same game: his scheme being to send out his son and his followers, while he himself remained at home, big with the hopes of being rewarded for their services if successful; but that his son only should be the sufferer if the undertaking failed.

The most earnest entreaties openly to throw off the mask were to no purpose: he contented himself with writing letters full of the most fulsome flattery. And indeed his pretence was the more plausible, as the twenty companies of independent Highlanders had now been raised, and appeared openly for the government; and that the Earl of *Loudon* had arrived in a ship from *London*, to take upon him the command of that corps. Towards the latter end of October the adventurer resolved on decamping. He was convinced that he had received all that he could expect from the
north

north part of the kingdom, and that nothing was to be done in the other districts, and therefore prepared to set out for *England*: where, from the first moment of his public appearance, every proper step had been taken to defeat his intention and design.

The Pretender having decamped from *Holyrood-house*, and sent his troops by different roads into *England*, did on the 8th of November cross the *Solway Frith* with an army of 5520 men, supported by 13 pieces of brass cannon 12 pounders, which he had received from *France*, besides those taken at the battle of *Preston-pans*: he had plenty of ammunition, and had no doubt of being properly supplied with provision in a more opulent country, abounding with every convenience, and where the harvest had been remarkably plentiful.

If we take a view of *England* and *Wales*, we may say with great certainty, that it contains more inhabitants than any district of the same dimensions in the known world: there appears to be almost seven times the number of people in these than there are in *Scotland*, tho' the extent of the country is but one sixth part more; a plain demonstration that *South Britain* is by far the finer country.

The whole of *England* lies in such cherishing and wholesome climates, that the ground itself is productive of their liberty: no nation possesses more real advantages, whether we consider the fertility of the soil, the temperature of the air, the preciousness of its mines, the abundance of its forests, the tallness of its trees, the capaciousness and safety of its harbours, the splendour and magnificence of its cities, the cleanliness
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of its villages, the largeness of its cattle, the comeliness and beauty of its men, some of whom are remarkable for improving in the sciences, as others have been conspicuous for a martial spirit, and admired for bravery and conduct. The Duke of *Cumberland* was born in her bosom; nor is it one of her least glories to have given birth to so great and illustrious a son; happy and independent in herself, but still more so if she knew the art of contentment, and was not ready on every occasion to be hurried into schemes destructive of her true and lasting interest: could we suppose a crowd of *Spaniards* to settle in it, their descendants would in time work out the moroseness of their dispositions; whereas should an *English* colony settle in *Spain* or in *Africa*, the offspring of these would gradually be of the same dull genius with the natives, and become devotees to a superstitious and gloomy religion.

But *England* is not more happy in her natural advantages than in her constitution and government both in church and state; which to erect was the work of ages, and at the expence of an immensity of blood and treasure. During the desolating civil wars between the houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, the natives of *England* might be said to be tillers of the ground, and in bondage to their superiors; so that whenever a battle was gained, be victor who will, the commons were sure to be slaves; but when the two houses were united, in the person and family of *Henry VII.* then was a cessation from domestic broils, the people began to look about with more ease, and the fruit of their inquiry was freedom, which soon formed them into a commercial

commercial state. Sensible of their advantages, they began to send representatives to parliament from among themselves; and from this origin that constitution arose, which has been the glory of every *Englishman*, and which they apprehended the rebellion was calculated to overturn.

The regency in the King's absence, upon being assured of the Pretender's landing, issued out a proclamation setting 30,000*l.* on his head, which when he saw, he answered it by a counter-proclamation, which we shall here set down.

Lochergag, August 22d, 1745.

WHEREAS upon setting up our royal standard, for the recovery of our just right to the throne of our ancestors, we were not a little surprized to find that the Elector of *Hanover* had not only contrary to the moderation of Christian princes, but even to humanity itself, given encouragement to parricide, by setting 30,000*l.* upon the head of our royal father, or our own, and so make us fall a sacrifice to the hands of bloody and cruel men, as our great-grandfather King *Charles I.* of glorious memory, had done near a century ago; this is therefore requiring all our liege subjects to endeavour to take the Elector of *Hanover*, dead or alive, if he should venture to land in any of the King's dominions, and they shall receive a reward of 30,000*l.* in consideration of so good and important a service.

Signed CHARLES, P. R.

By his Highness's command, *John Murray.*

It is needless to add any thing to the observations on this placart, further than that it was printed on the

same type, and the same size as the manifestoes formerly named. As the rebellion continued to increase, they dispatched a courier to *Hanover* with the important news; his Majesty without hesitating a moment, set out for his regal dominions, and on the 29th of August came to *St. James's*.

Scarce had he arrived, when addresses came in from every quarter; the merchants and trading part of the city of *London* associated, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to fight for their religion and liberty, and in defence of the King's person and government; men of property of all ranks and orders crowded in with liberal subscriptions for raising forces, beyond the example of former times, and uncompelled law. The admirals and captains in the navy agreed to levy a regiment of foot, for paying which they appropriated their own salaries; the proprietors of the *Prince Frederic* and *Duke* privateers gave a loan to the King of 700,000*l.* which was their share of some rich prizes, to be repaid as the parliament should direct; the clergy informed their hearers by precept, and excited by example to exert themselves in support of the crown, their own liberties, and the reformed religion; the Bishops of *Oxford*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Bristol*, and *Durham*, with Dr. *Potter* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, wrote circular letters to the inferior clergy of their dioceses, enjoining them to rouse up and cultivate in their respective parishes the spirit of loyalty and affection; and Dr. *Herring*, the Archbishop of *York*, who afterwards filled the see of *Canterbury*, rode night and day to bring the noble and gentlemen of the ridings in that extensive count

to a meeting at the castle of *York*, where he made a pathetic harangue to promote an association.

A SPEECH made by his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York, at presenting an Association entered into at the castle of York, Sept. 24, 1745.

My Lords, Gentlemen, and Reverend Brethren of the Clergy.

I AM desired by the Lords Lieutenants of the several ridings, to open to you the reasons of our present assembling; and as the advertisement, which has called us together, is in every body's hands, and the fact no speaks itself too plainly, a few words will be sufficient on the occasion.

It was some time before it was believed (I would to God it had gained credit sooner) but now every child knows it, that the Pretender's son is in *Scotland*; has set up his standard there; has gathered and disciplined an army of great force; receives daily increase of numbers; is in possession of the capital city there; has defeated a small part of the King's forces; and is advancing with hasty steps towards *England*.

What will be the issue of this rapid progress must be left to the Providence of God. However, what is now incumbent upon us to do, is to make the best provision we can against it; and every gentleman, I dare say every man in *England*, will think it his wisdom and his interest to guard against the mischievous attempts of these wild and desperate ruffians.

But the great mischief to be feared, which ought to alarm us exceedingly, and put us immediately on our defence, is the certain evidence, which every day opens

opens more and more, that these commotions in the North are but part of a great plan concerted for our ruin.—They have begun under the countenance, and will be supported by the forces of *France* and *Spain*, our old and inveterate (and late experience calls upon me to add, our savage and blood-thirsty) enemies.—A circumstance that should fire the indignation of every honest *Englishman*. If these designs should succeed, and popery and arbitrary power come in upon us, under the influence and direction of these two tyrannical and corrupted Courts, I leave you to reflect what would become of every thing that is valuable to us!

We are now blessed with the mild administration of a just and Protestant King, who is of so strict adherence to the laws of our country, that not an instance can be pointed out, during his whole reign, wherein he made the least attempt upon the liberty, or property, or religion, of a single person. But if the ambition and pride of *France* and *Spain* is to dictate to us, we must submit to a man to govern us under their hated and accursed influence, who brings his religion from *Rome*, and the rules and maxims of his government from *Paris* and *Madrid*.

For God's sake, gentlemen, let us consider this matter as becomes us, and let no time be lost to guard against this prodigious ruin. To your immortal honour be it spoken, you have considered it; and are now met together to call in the unanimous consent and assistance of this great county. This county, as it exceeds every other for its extent and riches, so it very naturally takes the lead of the inferior ones. And

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it will be extremely to our credit, give courage to the friends of the best constitution in the world, damp the spirit of its enemies at home. (if any such can be convinced in *Britain* at this dangerous crisis) and be an instruction to those abroad, that there is still spirit and honesty enough among us to stand up in defence of our common country. This will be the use of an unanimous and hearty declaration of fidelity to our country, and loyalty to our King. But the times, gentlemen, call for something more than this ! Something must be done as well as said.—And the fund for our defence, already begun, and now to be proposed to this great assembly, will, it is hoped, from reasons of public example and public safety, meet with the hearty concurrence of every individual who composes it. And at the same time that your hearts go along with the association, your hands will be open to support the necessary measures of self-defence.

As to you, my Reverend brethren, I have not long had the honour to preside among you ; but from the experience I have had, and what I have always heard of the honest love to your country (if you permit me to say so) I will be your security to the public, that you will decline no pains to instruct and animate your people ; nor expence, according to your circumstances, to stand up against popery and arbitrary power, under a *French* or a *Spanish* government.—We scorn the policies of the court of *Rome*, have no interests separate from the people, but on every occasion, where our country is concerned, look upon ourselves as incorporated with the warmest defenders of it ; or, if we do
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desire to be distinguished, it will be by our ardor and zeal to preserve our happy constitution.

Let us unite then, gentlemen, as one man, to stop this dangerous mischief, from which union no man surely can withdraw, or withhold his assistance, who is not lifted into the wicked service of a *French* or *Spanish* invasion, or wholly unconcerned for the fate of his bleeding country.

May the great God of battles stretch out his all-powerful hand to defend us ; inspire an union of hearts and hands among all ranks of people ; a clear wisdom into the councils of his Majesty ; and a steady courage and resolution into the hearts of his generals !

Scarce had his Grace finished his speech, when the whole assembly unanimously agreed to enter into an association, the tenor whereof is as follows :

The ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS there is now a horrid and unnatural rebellion carried on in *Scotland* by Papists, and other wicked and treacherous persons, countenanced and supported by the old and inveterate enemies of our country, and the religion and liberties thereof, the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, in order to dethrone his present Majesty King *George*, the only rightful and lawful King of these realms ; and having subverted our religion, laws, and liberties, (which God forbid) to set upon the throne a Popish Pretender, a dependant and a slave to these tyrannious courts : We the Lord Archbishop of *York*, Lord Lieutenants, Nobility, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others of the
county

county of *York*, whose names are subscribed to this writing, and every of us, being of opinion, that in times so full of danger and treasonable practices as these are, an union of our hearts and forces will be most conducing to his Majesty's safety, and the public good of our country, do voluntarily and willingly bind ourselves every one of us to the other jointly and severally, in the band of one firm and loyal society, and do hereby promise, that with our whole powers, bodies, lives and estates, we and every of us will stand by and assist each other in the support and defence of his Majesty's sacred person and government, and will withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by force of arms, as by all other means, the said popish Pretender and traitors, and also all manner of persons of what state soever they be, and their abettors, that shall attempt, act, counsel, or consent to any thing that shall tend to the harm of his Majesty King *George*, or of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, or any of their issue, or to the subversion of his Majesty's government. And we do by this instrument declare, that no one of us shall, for any respect of persons or causes, or for fee or reward, separate ourselves from this association, or fail in the prosecution thereof during our lives.

Dated at the castle of *York* the 24th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1745.

Every freeholder engaged for a year's valued rent of his estate, and in a short time about 33,000*l.* was paid down; some went so far as to raise companies, among whom was *William Thornton* of *Cattel*, who paid and cloathed a company of 70 men, whom he denominated
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the *Yorhshire Blues*. The northern counties followed the example of *York*, and the Dissenters, following the steps of the church, contributed according to their capacity ; indeed they were equally interested in the important affair, the churches of *England* and *Scotland* were nearly the same, though these differed widely in their discipline and worship, as *Dr. Blair*, one of the Prebendaries of *W——r*, certainly must know, since he came under the most sacred engagements to the Presbytery of *Dunbar* never to deviate from the latter, and has since bound himself under the strongest ties to adhere to the former.

The Quakers furnished woollen waistcoats to enable the troops to go through their winter campaign. The Roman Catholics, apprehensive that in the event of the Pretender's success their estates and properties would become a prey to foreigners, declared their aversion to a change. On the theatre was revived the tragedy of *Perkin Warbeck*, (said to be Duke of *York*, and son to *Edward IV.* anno 1497) in which was exhibited a lively picture of the desolation and havock caused in *England*, when he marched into that kingdom with some *Scotch* forces then under the command of King *James IV.*

The nobility and gentry solicited for liberty to be allowed to raise forces ; the Lord High Chancellor *Yorke*, and Mr. *Onslow*, Speaker of the House of Commons, set the example ; the Duke of *Montague*, Master-General of the Ordnance, raised a regiment of foot and another of horse ; the Duke of *Bedford* raised one in *London*, and another in *Bedfordshire* ; the Dukes of *Bolton* and *Argyll*, with the Marquis of *Granby*, levied

levied each a regiment of foot, as did the Earls of *Halifax*, *Berkley*, *Cholmondely*, and *Edgcumbe*; the Viscounts of *Falmouth* and *Harcourt*; Lords *Gower* and *Herbert*. In short, about 15 regiments were raised, and so properly stationed, that the friends of the Pretender were deterred from rising in arms. The judges, counselors, and attornies at law, surrounded the throne, soliciting to be permitted to hazard their lives for their country, and to raise forces at their own expence for its protection.

The city of *London* put their militia in order, and commanded that of *Westminster* to hold themselves in readiness to march, and on the 10th of September the Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on their Sovereign with an offer of their service, declaring, "That upon every occasion they were ready to sacrifice all that was dear and valuable to them in defence of his Majesty's person and family, and in support of the happy constitution both in church and state." On which six regiments were raised, who abjured the Pretender, and took the oaths to the government; the Court of Lieutenancy followed the example; the merchants protested their loyalty; the universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* presented addresses, while the other towns through the kingdom, like the members of the body influenced by the head, followed the example of the metropolis, and the trading part of the nation followed the steps of the *London* merchants.

The four battalions of guards were augmented, and on the 5th of September a proclamation was emitted against Papists and Nonjurors, to take effect after the 10th. An advertisement was published from the war-

office, offering 6*l.* bounty-money to every able-bodied man, five feet seven inches high without shoes, under thirty years of age, if before the 24th of September he would list in the guards. On the 18th, orders were sent to the several counties of *England* and *Wales* to raise the militia, and arms were distributed among them; and on the 14th a proclamation was issued out, importing, that every man, who from that time till **January**, should enlist in any regiment of horse, foot, or dragoons, was to receive his discharge in two years, if the same was required. On the 23d the regiment of *Scots Greys* arrived at *Gravefend* from *Flanders*, as did the three battalions of the foot guards, the foot regiments of the Major-Generals *Pultney*, *Howard*, *Braag*, *Johnson*; Brigadiers *Douglas* and *Cholmondley*; and Colonel *Sowles*. All these had been in the late battles at *Fontenoy*; and though extremely thinned in the engagement, as constituting a part of that body, which headed by the Duke of *Cumberland* had pierced between the redoubt of *Fontenoy* and the wood of *Barri*, yet they were now recruited, and their complements were full. His Royal Highness directed their route, and even accompanied them to within 20 miles of *Ostend*, when again he returned back to the army. On the 26th about 1500 merchants, traders, and proprietors of public funds, agreed to take Bank notes in payment of their debts, to the intent that the specie might circulate among the troops. On the 9th of October, the day when the *Venetian* ambassador made his public entry with great magnificence, the trained bands began to mount guard at the *Royal Exchange* and other public places; and though they

continued

continued twenty-four hours on duty, till relieved by some companies from the six regiments, yet they did not complain. On the tenth the *Tower Hamlets* mounted guard at *White-chapel Bars*, at *Wellclose-Square*, and on *Tower-Hill*; and on the 17th the parliament met, notwithstanding the following charge to the contrary :

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging.*

CHARLES P. R.

WHEREAS we are certainly informed, That the Elector of *Hanover* has taken it upon him to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the 17th of this instant October; we hereby warn and command all his Majesty's liege subjects, whether peers or commoners, to pay no obedience to any such summons, and not to presume to meet or act as a Parliament at the time and place appointed, or any other; the so doing by any authority but that of the King our Royal father, since the setting up of his standard, his Majesty's gracious pardon offered for all that is past, being an overt-act of treason and rebellion: but if, notwithstanding this our declaration, any number of persons shall presume to meet in either house, and act there as members of a lawful Parliament, they cannot but be sensible that no right or privilege of Parliament can avail to justify what they say or do in such an unlawful assembly. And for those of his Majesty's subjects of this his ancient kingdom of Scotland, whether peers or commoners, who

who shall, contrary to these our exprefs commands' presume to sit or vote as aforefaid, as soon as the same shall be verified to us, the transgressors shall be proceeded against as traitors to their King and country, and their estates shall be confiscated for his Majesty's use, according to the laws of the land; the pretended union being now at an end. Lastly, We hereby strictly enjoin and command all his Majesty's faithful subjects, of what rank and degree soever, to pay no obedience or regard to any act, vote, order, or resolution, that may be published in the name of both houses, or of either of them respectively, as they shall answer the contrary at their peril.

Given at our palace of *Holyrood-house*, the ninth day of October, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five,

CHARLES P. R.

By his Highness's command, *J. Murray*.

Both houses being met, for but few of either were absent, the King in his speech informed them, "That
" the open and unnatural rebellion, which had broke
" out, and was still continuing in *Scotland*, had obliged
" him to call them together sooner than he intended.
" That the wicked and daring attempt in favour of a
" Popish Pretender to his Crown, headed by his eldest
" Son, carried on by traitorous and desperate persons,
" and encouraged by his enemies abroad, required the
" immediate advice and assistance of his Parliament;
" that the unanimity shewn by his subjects had given
" him the firmest assurance that they were resolved
" to act with a spirit becoming a time of common
" danger.

" I have,

"I have," continued he, "through the whole course of my reign, made the laws of the land the rule of my government, and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, and the rights of my people, the main end and aim of all my actions. It is therefore the more astonishing, that any of my Protestant subjects, who have known and enjoyed the benefits resulting from thence, and have heard of the imminent dangers these kingdoms were wonderfully delivered from at the happy Revolution, should by any arts and management be deluded into measures, that must at once destroy their religion and liberties, introduce Popery and arbitrary power, and subject them to a foreign yoke." He declared himself sensibly affected with the extraordinary burthen which the attempt must bring upon us his faithful subjects: and concludes with assuring, that the interest of him and his people was always the same; and that whoever heartily and vigorously exerted themselves in the national cause, might depend on his favour and protection.

Next day, the Lords presented their address, in which after the usual introduction, they declared, that they "wanted words to express the just indignation and abhorrence rising in their breasts, at so wicked, traitorous, and desperate an attempt in favour of a Popish Pretender to his crown, whose groundless claim they had unfeignedly abjured, and whose principles and designs they did from the bottom of their hearts, detest and abhor; then very gratefully acknowledged his paternal regard for the laws; that they were resolved to hazard their lives and fortunes

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“ in defence of his sacred person and government,
 “ and that they would concur in all such measures as
 “ might most effectually conduce to extinguish the
 “ rebellion, to deter any foreign power from pre-
 “ suming to support it, to restore the tranquillity of
 “ his government, and to add strength to that ex-
 “ cellent constitution which the flagitious attempt was
 “ intended to subvert.”

The Commons presented an address in terms to the same purpose, assured him of having “ his hands
 “ strengthened by effectual supplies, for supporting
 “ his sacred person and government, which from every
 “ consideration, human and divine, they were bound
 “ to defend.”

On Monday, the 21st. they empowered the King to secure and detain such persons as he should suspect of conspiring against his person and government. And, on the 4th of November, no less than 1,298,000*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* was granted for paying 40,229 effective men, for the year 1746: they likewise voted 64,365*l.* 18*s.* for paying the fifteen regiments formerly named, for 122 days from the time of their being raised, with 13,176*l.* 10*s.* for the pay of two regiments of horse, for the same time and in the same way; and 35,252*l.* 10*s.* for maintaining the twenty independent Highland companies for 361 days: and upon the 24th the King was empowered to raise the *English* militia.

There were now 36,000 regular troops in the kingdom, commanded by gallant officers, who had given signal instances of their valour and intrepidity, and,
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what not a little animated both army and people, his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* was among them. His Highness had, on the 14th of October, left *Brussels*, and on the 18th, arrived at *St. James's*. The troops which he ordered to follow landed on the 25th. They consisted of four troops of Sir *John Ligonier's* dragoons, the detachment of the foot guards which served at *Ostend*, Lieutenant-general *Sinclair's* battalion of foot, the foot regiments of Lieutenant-general *Harrison*, Major-general *Husk*, and Lord *Harry Beauchamp*. On the 27th Prince *Henry Frederic* was born, on which the Parliament complimented the King as they did on the 30th, being his birth day. It was kept in England with uncommon gaiety: and perhaps the drawing-room at *St. James's* was never fuller. It was likewise observed in every part of *Scotland*, except where parties of the enemy were stationed: the garrison of the castle of *Edinburgh* observed the different parts of rejoicing with uncommon splendour and shew: the union flag was displayed, at twelve o'clock a round from her guns was discharged, and these were answered by the ships in *Leith* road, and by volleys from the small arms of the garrison drawn up upon the platform.

Every place was put in the best posture of defence; the garrison at *Berwick* was reinforced by eight companies of *Price's* foot, just as they landed from *Flanders*, and five companies of *Ligonier's* were ordered by General *Handasyde* to be stationed in *Holy Island* till further orders. In a word, *England* was now become a seminary of soldiers, actuated by the spirit of their Sovereign, who declared in council, That if the rebellion

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lion continued, he himself would march at the head of the troops in person. And in the meantime an army was ordered to the north, over which Field-marshal *Wade* was appointed to command.

That officer moved from *Doncaster* on the 21st with the *British* infantry, and with the *Swiss* regiment whom the states of *Holland* had, conformable to the treaties, upon the requisition of the *British* ambassador, sent over to the King. *Newcastle-upon Tyne* was the place appointed for the rendezvous. The forces marched thither from twenty different quarters, and about the 28th they, on a muster upon the moor of that town, amounted to 14,000 men, with a large train of artillery.

The Marshall had resolved to wait here; both to observe the motions of the enemy and to protect the coal mines, which if once seized by the insurgents, would be of the utmost advantage to the Pretender's cause.

From this place he caused a proclamation to be made, and afterwards to be inserted in the newspapers, "That those of his Majesty's subjects inhabiting the *Highlands* of *Scotland*, and others, who have been seduced by the menaces and threatenings of their chiefs and superiors to take arms and enter into a most unnatural rebellion, should be objects of the royal mercy, if they would return to their habitations, on or before the 12th of November; but if they slighted this offer, they were to be punished according to the demerit of their crimes."

This voluntary proffer did not meet with a suitable return: the chiefs were too much involved: the
Pretender

Pretender was too ambitious; and two thirds of his army could neither read nor write. Gracious declarations were attributed to a reigning panic occasioned by the defeat at *Preßon-pans*; so that, depending on the weakness of the King's troops, especially in the time of winter, and on their own superior alertness, they entered *England* on Friday the 8th of November. The whole army was now together, and after scouring the country for two days, the Pretender marched at their head to the Moor of *Carlisle*, where he waited for his cannon and the remainder of his forces; who brought him the mortifying news, that thirty-four of their waggons had been seized by a party of the *Dumfries* militia-men, in arms for the government: a piece of news which however disagreeable, yet did not hinder his sending *Geohagan*, a *French* officer with the following summons:

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

BEING come to recover the King our father's just rights, for which we arrived with all his authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our passage: we therefore to avoid the effusion of *English* blood, hereby require you to open your gates, and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable manner; which if you do, we shall take care to preserve you from any insult, and set an example to all *England* of the exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our father's declarations and our own: but if you shall refuse us entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such means as Providence has

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put into our hands, and then it will not perhaps be in our power to prevent the fatal consequences which usually attend a town's being taken by assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your answer within the space of two hours; for we shall take any further delay as a peremptory refusal, and take our measures accordingly.

Nov. 10, 1745. Two in the afternoon.

For the Mayor of *Carlisle*.

This menacing letter was answered from the cannon on the ramparts. The Chevalier, who had marched to *Brampton Muir*, eight miles east of *Carlisle*, in order to give battle to General *Wade*, or to waste and consume the forces under that officer by marches and countermarches, or to surprize them in the night time as opportunity offered, was not a little touched at the refusal; he sent back a small party on the 13th with some fascines and scaling-ladders, made of the wood cut in *Corby* and *Warwick Parks*, and toward sun-set these arrived near the town. Next morning they broke ground within 300 yards of the *Scots' Gate*, but were driven off by an uninterrupted fire from the batteries; however, this disheartning circumstance did not counterbalance one more encouraging, and which arose from a very thick mist, which then darkened the atmosphere. Under favour of it a trench was dug toward the *English* gate, as the most defenceless; the insurgents advanced the works, and *Perth*, the conductor of the siege, wrought in his shirt as the meanest labourer; *Carlisle* was attacked in three places at once, which being discovered on the sky clearing up, the centres in surprize spread a consternation

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among the inhabitants. Many people leaped over the wall, which is about six feet high, and five feet broad, and crossed the ditch, which is of the same breadth with the wall; these generally escaped, though some fell into the hands of the enemy. The militia being shut up in a town, where they were fatigued with a continual watching for seven days and seven nights together, and the inhabitants almost killed with the apprehensions of a massacre, desired a meeting. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens convened, with Col. *Durand*, Governor of the castle, to consult about the proper methods to be taken in this extremity. The Governor's opinion was, that the place might hold out, but he was overpowered by the multitude; the terror of the Highlanders storming the town sword in hand in the night-time had already filled them with the most killing apprehensions, it was resolved to surrender the place. Accordingly a white flag was hung out, which the enemy observing, the intended assault was laid aside, and deputies came out with a proposal of terms; they were told that the town should enjoy her liberties, but that the provision and ammunition should be delivered in case they were in; and in the mean time a message was sent off to the Chevalier, who answered, "that he was not to do things by halves, he must have both the castle and the town, or neither of them." The garrison of the former were, by the faithful *Durand*, almost prevailed on to stand a siege; but upon after-thoughts, about three hundred and twenty out of four hundred men deserted in one night, and some of those who remained were
unfit

unfit for action, so that the governor, was obliged to withdraw. Things being thus situated, *Perth*, who, was afterwards made governor, took possession of the town and castle in the Pretender's name about ten in the morning of the 15th. His declarations were proclaimed with great solemnity, and he himself made his entry on the 17th, escorted by the *Elphinstone* troop, then commanded by *Arthur Lord Balmerino*, who appeared for the first time as an officer, and Col. of the Life-Guards. Here were found provisions for three months, arms for a numerous militia, and near two hundred horses with proper furniture ; and in the castle were one thousand stand of arms, with many of the swords of the Highlanders taken at *Preston*, Anno 1715 : all which, with one hundred barrels of gunpowder, and many valuable effects belonging to the country people for several miles round, were secured.

And here *Perth* performed a piece of generosity, which could not fail of gaining an universal esteem. From his frequenting the Horse-Races at *York*, *Newcastle* and *Black Hamilton*, he became acquainted with almost the whole of the gentlemen of *Cumberland*, and the adjacent counties, so that when he came to receive them in the market-place, there was a continued embracing one after another of the prisoners for near half an hour ; they were invited to dine with him, and after being properly regaled, were dismissed upon their parole. Some gentlemen of these parts having noticed, that though they looked upon this step of *Perth* as inconsistent with the character of a soldier, yet

yet it was a signal instance of his politeness and humanity, for they were suffered to retain their arms ! Indeed he had no reason to be ruffled in his temper, as the besiegers lost no more than one *Dalton* an engineer, an *Irishman*, who was killed, and a private man, who was wounded.

These successes, in themselves equal to a victory, were still heightened by the slowness of Marshal *Wade's* motions ; that officer, instead of stationing himself half way between *Newcastle* and *Carlisle*, had continued at the former place, notwithstanding he had intimation of the Pretender's rout by an express next day after their quitting *Edinburgh*, he did not decamp till the 16th, and then *Carlisle* was in the hands of the enemy ; the *Dutch* troops were a drawback upon his motions, and would not march when directed : these had come over only for the sake of form. The *French* ambassador at the *Hague* remonstrated against their being sent over to *England*, under pretence that they were included in the capitulation of *Tournay*, and were not to fight directly or indirectly against the crown of *France* for a year. Some memorials passed upon this subject, and the troops in the mean time were transported ; *England* was pleased with their arrival, and *France* was pacified with their inaction ; for during the whole time of their continuance, they were not so much as engaged in a skirmish, or the least accidental rencounter.

On that day the Major-Generals *Howard* and *Oglethorpe*, with the Brigadiers *Cholmondley* and *Mordaunt*, marched at the head of the infantry in a falling snow, which lay three feet deep upon the ground. About
eight

eight at night they arrived at *Ovington*, through roads terribly broken and full of ice, in which some of the foot of the last column had dropped through fatigue, and might have perished, had not Major-Generals *Huske* and *Oglethorpe* hired countrymen with lights and carts to bring them up. In this service they were employed till nine next morning, when the forces continued their march for *Hexham*, which the first line entered about four in the afternoon, and the rear at midnight. Here the Marshal, having intelligence of the fate of *Carlisle*, resolved to return, and on the 22d arrived at *Newcastle* through roads almost impassable, and with an army spent with fatigue.

The magistrates received them with a becoming sympathy; the malt-houses, public halls, and other empty buildings, were warmed and fitted up, while such as appeared to be most jaded, were quartered in private houses, and entertained at the proprietor's charge. Here they continued two days, and on the 24th began their march southward in quest of the enemy, who, after leaving a garrison of four hundred and fifty men at *Carlisle*, had about ten in the morning of the 20th, set out for *Penrith*, where, and at *Shap*, they halted till the 22d, when they marched for *Kendal*, advanced to *Lancaster* on the 24th, and reached *Preston* on the 26th, proclaiming their leader in every town, amidst the acclamations of the multitude. Here the Chevalier, who hitherto marched on foot, mounted on horseback, and surveyed the passes and bridges of the town, taking with him such as had been there in the year 1715, when the Earls of *Derwentwater*, *Nithisdale*, *Wintoun* and *Carmwath*, with almost their whole forces, were taken prisoners; and here;

here, as in other places, they collected the cels, the land tax, and excise, with the other branches of the public revenue.

The neighbourhood of the enemy filled the western counties with surprize and astonishment, and the towns began to provide for their safety ; the city of *Chester*, the key into *Wales*, was by the care of the Earl of *Cholmondely*, put into a posture of defence, and its bridge broken down. The inhabitants of *Liverpool* secured their valuable effects in the ships then in the road ; which precautions had such an influence, that on the 29th, the enemy turned eastward to *Manchester*, where their cavalry arrived by ten in the morning, and the Pretender at the head of his infantry about two in the afternoon. Next day they beat up for volunteers, when some Roman Catholics and Non-jurors engaged with them, but no person of rank or distinction came in : however, they formed the *Manchester* regiment of horse, whose livery was blue clothes, hangers, a plaid sash and white cockade ; they made free with the best horses they could find, and beat up for recruits as they advanced. The Colonel of that regiment was the unfortunate *Francis Townley*, a gentleman of great courage and activity, but who, through the misfortunes of his family, had gone to serve in the armies of *France*. Their quarter-master was one *Thomas Cappoch*, a Presbyter of the Church of *England*, who was soon declared Bishop of *Carlisle* ; an unhappy preferment for him as it brought him to a fatal end, which every wretch, who, on the prospect of a piece of bread, swerves from his solemn engagements never to deviate from the discipline and worship of one church, who has empowered him to preach
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the Gospel, ought to meet with. It is no wonder that villains of this stamp should shake off all the tie-binding on a scholar, in order to use the arts of circumvention, and, like a bailiff's follower, turn a man out of his bread, and fix himself in it. Poor *Cappock* was hanged, drawn and quartered. At *Muncheſter* the bellman was ſent about with orders to all ſuch as had public money, to bring it in, and in the evening he intimated that the place ſhould be illuminated; which laſt being partly complied with, was of good ſervice to the rear of the army, as it was night before they could enter.

On the 1ſt of December, a party of them made a feint of marching to *Stockport*, and another weſtward to *Knutsford*, having croſſed the *Merſey* in different places, though then very rapid and ſwollen by the rain. The cavalry forded it, while the foot and artillery paſſed over bridges of plank and of poplar. In the mean time the Pretender arrived at *Maccleſfield* with three thouſand men, and the artillery came in about two in the afternoon. Next morning the van was ſent to *Congleton*, where they received intelligence that the main body of the King's army, conſiſting of twelve thouſand ſeven hundred men, moſtly veteran regiments, and among them three battalions of the guards, commanded by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*, was at *Newcaſtle-under-Line*, nine miles ſouth-weſt of them.

On the 16th of November his Majeſty had ordered three regiments of horſe, two of dragoons, and fifteen of foot, to march into *Lancaſter* to obſerve the motions of the enemy. They marched by the way of *Barnet*, *Dunſtable* and *Woodburn*, through roads almoſt impaſſable,

impassable, and rendezvoused at *Stafford*, on the 26th of November, when Sir *John Ligonier* was appointed to take upon him the command. As they advanced, the Duke begged of his Royal father to be permitted to put himself at the head of the forces. His request was granted, but with difficulty. The King told him, "*William*, I grant your desire, but pray take care of yourself; for this young man is not a fool with whom you have to deal: learn this lesson from your father, never to despise an enemy." A salutary advice worthy the most solid wisdom, and which the Duke so well observed, that he did not commit one single oversight during the whole time of his command. On the 26th he set out from *St. James's*, about one o'clock in the morning, and in three days arrived at *Stafford*, between which place and *Tamworth* the army was cantoned. He no sooner appeared among them, than the air resounded with the most joyful acclamations.

Getting intelligence here that the enemy intended to march to *Congleton*, he ordered that part of the cavalry, which was posted at *Newcastle-under-Line*, to retreat till the infantry should come up, and the two bodies being joined here, he drew them up on *Stonefield*, expecting the enemy would come that way, but on information that they were marching further east, he caused the army to move to the south east, the better to intercept them. The roads and avenues were properly secured, and the day was somewhat dark; circumstances very favourable for him, as by means of these advantages he would have been up with the enemy, being within three miles of them: and now there might have been an end of the matter,

had it not been for a turnpike-man, who first informed the Pretender's party, that the Duke was advancing upon that road, and within three miles of them, and therefore directed them to turn off to the left hand. His directions were followed, and in about an hour after the Duke came up with the troops, when the turnpike-man assured him that the enemy had marched to the right, and were but two miles distant; whereon his Highness set out more eagerly than before, and in his way saw a lieutenant of *Johnson's* regiment lying among the whins miserably mangled, and a little further on, six others in the same situation. He had marched two miles before discovering the cheat, and so returning the same way, he ordered the turnpike-man to be brought before him. The unhappy fellow made no defence for himself, further than that he did not want a battle should happen near his abode. An excuse of so little weight in itself, that the whole general officers insisted on putting him to death, which was done instantly; he was carried to a tree, and hanged on a bough thereof, which overshadowed the road.

This done he marched to *Coventry* with all his horse, and two battalions of foot, having ordered the remainder to encamp on *Meriden* common, where the flannel waistcoats (the gift of the Quakers) were arrived. This step of his Royal Highness entirely disconcerted the plans and measures of the enemy, for turn which way they would, the troops were alert to attack them.

The Pretender having intelligence of these motions, and of the alacrity of the King's army, marched his van to *Ashturn*, and the main body of his forces to
Leek,

Leek, and all of a sudden turned to *Derby*, which he entered on the morning of the 4th, with 450 horse, and 2300 foot ; the rest, in order to appear more numerous, continuing to enter till late, when their artillery and baggage arrived.

The suddenness of their approach surprized the people of the town, who retired in such confusion, that the clerk in a hurry left upon a bureau the roll of those who subscribed for sums in the government's service. The paper falling into their hands, the different quotas and public money were rigorously collected, and at night was held a council of war ; in which the question was, Proceed forward, or Retreat ? The reasoning was tedious and long ; but nothing then was concluded. Next day after dinner the question was resumed ; the Chevalier was so eager upon fighting, that he was ready to cry. *Clanranald* and *Glunie Macpherson* joined him ; but Lord *Pitsligo* and the other leaders were unanimous against it. " I am told," said *Pitsligo*, " that the Elector is to raise his standard at *Finchley* common, and the advantage of being in possession of *London* is known from the case of *Edward IV.* should we fight the Duke of *Cumberland*, the fortune of war is doubtful ; should we pass him which may be done, yet we have another army to encounter before we arrive at *St James's* ; in case of a defeat, we shall be exposed to the rage of the country people. Let us not then bring certain destruction upon ourselves, and an indelible stain upon the *Scottish* nation, who, when unanimous, never marched so far as we have done ; we will conduct you back (turning to the Chevalier) and by an honourable retreat secure that safety, and
that

“ that character, of both which the rash adventuring
 “ forward bids fair to deprive us.”

This reasoning was just ; for in case they did escape the Duke, they would be put between the fire of the enemy, and that formed under the eye of the Earl of *Stair*, which was composed of the guards, Lord *John Murray's* old Highland regiment, two troops of *Ligonier's* horse, and the remains of Sir *Robert Rich's* regiment of dragoons, with those of Lieutenant-general *Halley*, who on the first had arrived in the *Thames* from *Williamstadt*. The associated regiment of the law, for the defence of the Royal Family, and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, made up of the gentlemen of the gown, under the command of Lord Chief Justice *Willes*, entered here upon the first rudiments of a winter campaign ; there was a large train of artillery, consisting of thirty-three field pieces, and forty-eight covered waggons, twenty chests of arms, and two hundred and forty matrosses, under the direction of Captain *Speedwell*, an officer of fifty-five years experience. The Lieutenancy of *London* directed, that two regiments of the trained bands should be out every night, and one in the day time, and several wealthy citizens enlisted as volunteers in the first regiment of foot guards, while all the public and private effects of the city began to be packed up, to be safe against the worst of events.

But the difficulties he had to encounter on land were no less discouraging than his disappointments ; for some of the transports from *France* had been driven back, and others taken, as on the 25th of November the *Soleil* privateer, on board of which was Mr. *Charles Ratcliffe* and his son, eleven captains,

ten lieutenants, and sixty private men. The crew were sent to *Dover* castle, and the remaining prisoners distributed in the several men of war of Admiral *Vernon's* Squadron; but the officers were conducted to the *Tower*, where apartments were fitted up for them, young Mr. *Radcliffe* being taken for the second son of the Pretender, now Cardinal *Stuart*, who was then in *France* amused with promises.

On these and other accounts the whole were brought into *Pittsigo's* sentiments: however, they artfully concealed their designs, by rubbing up their arms, as if intending to fight, while a small party was detached to the *Trent*, to repair the bridge that had been broke down, and to lay others for passing over the troops, as if they designed to march forward to their adherents in *London*, who, in expectation of their approach, had privately dropped the Pretender's declarations at *St. James's* upon the parade, while others, less prudent, were for malicious expressions taken into custody, and received an arbitrary punishment for their ill-timed zeal; however, they continued in high spirits till the arrival of an express that their friends had retreated; on which the cannon sent to the camp returned, the King's advancing to it was deferred, the orders given to the troops were countermanded, the day duty of the trained bands was discontinued, and the volunteers were dismissed. These had passed in review before the King and the Earl of *Stair* through *St. James's Park*, with their wives and children before them, to signify that all was at stake; and that they were determined to fight *pro aris et focis*.

On the 6th of December, at ten in the morning, after several feints, the rebels began their march from
Derby,

Derby, with their cavalry in the front, and thirteen pieces of cannon in the center ; some seeming to move to *Loughborough*, entered that place, and plundered it of what was valuable, while others kept on the *Ashburn* side. When about a mile from town they halted till near four, and then went off, their carriage being on full trot, and their foot almost running. While here, not content with their former demands they sent a party to require a large sum of money, which by force they obtained.

Notwithstanding this device which kept their true intent a profound secret, yet that very night the Duke had an account of their march. By three next morning he put himself at the head of all the horse and dragoons, and one thousand volunteers mounted till the foot should come up, and sent expresses every where to the militia to intercept them ; but this could not be so easily done, as these had hitherto retired before them, and because their motions were so quick and uncertain, and their designs so intricate and dark.

However, the places on which they were supposed to have an eye, were put in a posture of defence. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Grandby*, the Earls of *Cholmondeley* and *Warrington*, with the Lord *Gower*, repaired to *Chester*, to stop their advancing into *Wales*, while the *Liverpool* battalion of seven hundred men were ordered to take post at *Warrington*. These picked up about sixteen stragglers, who afterwards were sent to different gaols. A thousand new-raised foot were dispatched to *Newcastle* to prevent their coming there, or if they came to keep them in play till the troops should come up. These, and indeed the whole militia, were very eager in the service of the government, and willing

willing to fight the rebels ; but their leaders being men of experience, considering that they could not be defeated without the loss of some useful lives, they were referred to a more able avenger, who with his cavalry and foot, mounted on horses supplied by the country people, was now in full pursuit of them.

On the 8th they were at *Macclesfield*, and next day at *Manchester*, where they levied 16,000l. and committed 13,000l. of damages. On the 10th they marched to *Wigan*, and on the 11th to *Preston*, where they halted the 12th. On the 13th they made the longest march during this chase, and arrived at *Lancaster*, where they halted the 14th ; but having intelligence that the troops were gaining ground of them, they continued their flight from the Duke, who about eleven of the night of the 10th arrived at *Macclesfield* from *Litchfield* with two regiments of dragoons, having marched about forty miles in two days through terrible roads, by *Uttoxeter* and *Cheadle* ; and about an hour after the foot arrived, being provided with horses by the gentlemen of *Staffordshire*. After four hours repose they began their march for *Manchester*, which they entered upon the 12th amidst repeated huzzas, bonfires, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. By three next morning they were in motion, and marched so hastily, that the van reached *Preston* about four hours after the rebels had quitted the town ; the first who entered were the *Georgia* rangers, soon after a party of the Duke of *Kingston's* horse, commanded by Lieut. Col. *Mordaunt*, and the Captains Lord *Byron* and Lord *Robert Manners*. It was here General *Oglethorpe* joined the Duke's army with one thousand horse, which were composed of St. *George's* dragoons, the Duke of *Montague's* horse, and those of

That officer had on the 24th of November marched by the way of *Durham*, *Darlington*, and *Richmond*, in order to cover *Yorkshire*. On the 28th he was at *Pers Bridge*, whence he moved to *Wetherby*, where his troops halted the 5th of December, and received their bread from *Leeds*, as also shoes, stockings, and flannel waistcoats from *London*; from *Wetherby* he turned eastward to *Ferrybridge*, where he arrived on the 9th, as did the cavalry at *Doncaster*. It was at this place that accounts were brought of the retreat of the enemy, for intercepting of whom *Wade* resolved to march by the way of *Wakefield* and *Halifax* into *Lancashire*; but getting intelligence that they had slipt him, he marched back with his foot in several divisions; and that they might be under cover every night by reason of the freezing winds, the chilling frosts, and almost continual snows, he took the rout of *Northarleton*, *Darlington* and *Durham*, and arrived at *Newcastle* on the 20th of December, having detached General *Oglethorpe*, as is already observed. The troops under him had marched from *Doncaster*, and in three days made 100 measured miles over snow and ice, either to come up with the enemy, or to join the Duke of *Cumberland*, by whom that march was literally paralleled.

The rangers were immediately sent after the enemy, who had halted at *Lancaster* on the 14th, till the whole of their troops had come up. By two in the afternoon they got a sight of the rebels' rear, and two of them riding beyond the rest were taken prisoners.

That day about ten in the forenoon, *Perth*, who thought nothing of riding down three horses in a day for intelligence, reached *Kendal* with an hundred hussars, and whence, after halting for a little refreshment

ment, he went on; but as the rear of his corps was entering upon the bridge, some country people being there at market mobbed them. One of them was killed by a musket from a window, and two taken prisoners. On this the party faced about, when as many as the bridge could give room to fire upon the mob, of whom a shoemaker and an hostler were killed, on which they dispersed, after the rebels had discharged a general volley, but at too great a distance to do harm. This being over they posted to *Shap*, where on the 16th they arrived.

The day after the affair at *Kendal* the whole body of the rebels came into that town, where hearing that one of their hussars was slain, and two taken prisoners, they breathed nothing but revenge; the cefs and public money were demanded, under penalty of the severest execution. With the utmost difficulty could the magistrates pacify the chieftains, by representing the innocence of the inhabitants, and that in a public market offenders must be unknown. As *Lochiel* came at last to understand the matter, the contributions were abated, though a great sum was levied; and on their departure their last rank plundered some houses, stript some people of their shoes, and attempted to fire a lodging, but the match did not take. On the 16th their main body marched for *Shap*, but the rear-guard halted at a farm four miles from *Kendal*, to prepare small carts for carrying their ammunition, which could not be got forward over steep hills, and through a bad road, upon their four-wheeled waggons, that were mostly broken down. Next night these arrived at *Shap*, while the bulk of them marched with the young

Adventurer to *Penrith*, where in the evening they were joined by the rear-guard.

While General *Anstruther* is advancing from *Coventry* to *London* with Colonel *Sowles* and *Skelton's* regiments of foot, which composed the first division of his Royal Highness's army, while Marshal *Wade* is marching his troops in different divisions towards *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*; and while the army is forming upon the *Kentish* coast, where a descent was apprehended, the Duke came up with the enemy upon the 18th at night with his cavalry, after an uninterrupted march of ten hours.

The rebels, being continually alarmed by the approach of the light horse, had sent a party through Lord *Lonsdale's* parks of *Lowther*, thinking to find some of these who had harraffed them about his house, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the county of *Cumberland*. Some of them were seen, but then at too great a distance to receive any loss. In their progress they took a running footman belonging to his Royal Highness, and a gentleman of the county, whom they called an officer: from these they were informed, that the Duke was within a mile of them with near four thousand horse and dragoons, besides light horse and militia; on which they abandoned *Lowther-Hall* to make a stand against him. Accordingly Lord *George Murray*, who always commanded the rear-guard, took possession of the village of *Clifton*, a mile to the north of Lord *Lonsdale's* seat, upon the highway to and two miles short of *Penrith*; he sent Colonel *Roy Stuart's* regiment and *Clunie's* battalion to the bottom of the moor, while the *Macdonalds*, of *Keppoch*, stood at a little

little distance to wait the event ; they fortified themselves behind three hedges and a ditch. It was now about an hour after sun-set, when the king's troops appeared upon the open moor with their leader, who directly ordered three hundred of *Honeywood's* dragoons to dismount, and march forward to attack the enemy. They advanced to the very brink of the ditch, when the rebels fired from behind the hedges, and killed a few ; on which the troops fired some platoons, and then retired a few paces. The enemy taking this for the beginning of a flight, crossed the ditch with incredible swiftness, and rushed on with sword and pistol in hand, but were so well received, that some of them lay dead upon the spot. The dragoons who had drawn their swords, were now ready to pay them in their own coin. The shouts began, the clashing of swords was heard ; some of the rebels' swords broke upon the steel caps which the cavalry commonly wear, on which they drew their daggers, and fought with great obstinacy for an hour ; when observing the resolution of the forces, they returned with as much precipitation across the ditch, as at first they came on, and with full speed carried the consternation to *Penrith*, where the body of their army, with the artillery and baggage, was arrived. Such was the skirmish at *Clifton*, in which about twelve of the dragoons were killed, and twenty-four wounded, among whom were Colonel *Honeywood*, Captain *Eaß*, and the Cornets *Owen* and *Hamilton*. On the side of the rebels were slain about twenty men, and seventy taken prisoners, among whom was Captain *George Hamilton*, of *Redhouse*, who then commanded in the absence of *Roy Stuart* ; he had fallen upon the ground by some accident,

dent, and recovering himself, was just sitting up, when an huffar coming by, struck him on the vertebræ of the neck, so that he fell back, with these words, " Oh, " I am killed ! " The huffar dismounted, took his money out of his pocket, with his watch, and then left him, till the country people, who had known his severity, tied up his head with an handkerchief, and delivered him a prisoner ; he was mounted upon an horse, with his legs tied below its belly, and directly sent to gaol. As the rebels, who had not advanced, carried off their killed and wounded on the other side of the ditch, the same could not be certainly known ; they gave out that they only lost twelve men, who run up the moor ; whereas his Royal Highness wrote to the King, that seventy of them were taken prisoners, besides those who were wounded and killed. The only thing the enemy had to boast of, was, that they took some broad swords from the dragoons ; but from the best information, I find these only amounted to seven, which were taken up as they first leaped over the ditch, when the troops retired, or were seized from the wounded officers, formerly named.

Being driven from the village and come to *Penrith*, a council of war was held, where *Roy Stuart* was for marching back and surprizing the dragoons in the night time, or by day-break next morning, before the foot had arrived ; but *Lord George Murray* was not for diminishing the forces, by skirmishes, but for pursuing their route, and joining *Lord John Drummond*, who had landed from *Dunkirk* with a regiment of six hundred men at *Montrose*. He was afterwards joined by a like body of the Duke of *Gordon's* vassals, then under his brother

brother Lord *Lewis*, the *Frazers* under the Master of *Lovat*, the *Farquersons* under *Francis Farquerson* of *Manalty*, the *Chisholms* of *Strathglafs* under the chief-tain's youngest son, two battalions of the *Mackintoshes* raised by the Lady *Mackintosh*, whose husband was a Captain in the service of the government. These were commanded by *Macgillivray* of *Drunnaglass*, one of the branches of the *Catti*; in all about 2,500 men.

Next day their whole army marched for *Carlisle*, where that night they arrived, and next morning, being the Chevalier's birth-day, he was complimented by the officers, and his army drawn up upon the moor in battalia, where they continued under arms till about twelve o'clock, giving out, that they were resolved to fight the Duke's army before the arrival of the artillery; but on hearing that the foot and artillery were fast approaching, they drew off with pipes playing and colours flying, leaving at *Carlisle* a garrison of about four hundred men, consisting chiefly of the *English* that joined them, and some few *Scots* under the command of *John Hamilton*, the Duke of *Gordon's* factor, with a proper train of artillery, and a promise of returning with greater force in eight days.

By two o'clock they came up to *Langtown*, where they crossed the *E/k*, then about four feet deep, and not very rapid, as the tide was in. The cavalry entered the water with the hussars in front, and the Pretender in the center, with a boy belonging to *Cappoch* behind him. When half way through, he observed two people giving way, and seizing them by the hair, cried out in *Irish*, *coer, coer*, help, help, and so these were relieved; *Perth* being better mounted than the rest, crossed the water

water several times, and brought off a person every time he went. The infantry, with Lord *George Murray* at their head, arrived safe to the other side, by keeping hold of each other, according to the direction of the country people, and of some drovers who were among them.

Scarce were they in *Scotland*, when they divided into parties, the Chevalier with four thousand marching to *Annan*, and the other of two thousand five hundred to *Ecclefechan*, where they rested. Next day Lord *Elcho* was sent with five hundred horse to *Dumfries*, where he levied the excise, and imposed on the town a contribution of 2000 l. and a thousand pair of shoes; seized nine casks of gunpowder, all arms public and private, horses and horse furniture, while the private men among them committed above 4000 l. damages in the country, by plundering houses, robbing people on the highway; stripping others of their shoes and body clothes. Near 11,000 l. was instantly paid by the magistrates, who on remonstrance, were told that they might be glad their town was not laid in ashes, considering their association, and seizing of their waggons.

Next day the Pretender, the *French* ambassador, *Perth*, *Lochial*, *Clanranald*, *Cappoch*, and *Glengary*, went by the way of this pillaged town, while the Marquis of *Tullebardin*, Lord *George Murray*, Lord *Ogilvie*, *Nairn*, and *Pitligo*, took the *Moffatt* road. They intended to march to *Edinburgh*, but hearing that General *Guest*, had caused an intimation to be made from the pulpits, that he designed to keep the town out against them, till the arrival of the troops, they directed their rout to *Glasgow*, and in their way stopt at the castle of
Douglas,

Douglas, where the Duke of that name behaved in a manner every way becoming his great and illustrious ancestors. The bulk of the private men were lodged in and about town, while the Chevalier with his guards and general officers repaired to the castle, hoping to prevail on the Duke to join, but in this they were greatly disappointed; for his Grace of *Douglas* was of the same sentiments as in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, when he accompanied the Duke of *Argyle* to *Sheriffmuir*, and with some of the principal noblemen in the kingdom charged as a volunteer at the head of the cavalry.

The first who came to his Grace found him in a plain room and homely dress, sitting before a fire, near which was a table whereon was placed seven silver watches. On their entering he said, "Do any of you want to take a watch?" And so touching one with his fingers he added, "Take a watch, take a watch: here is variety." Accordingly three of them took watches while others demanded his money and his arms: "It is not," said he, "the custom of a *Douglas* to deliver up his arms; but what cash I have about me shall be yours;" so rifling his pockets, he laid down his money upon the table, which been soon snatched up, the keys of his bureau and other repositories were loudly called for. "No keys," said the Duke, "I have; no keys will I give. Desire my cousin *Perth* to speak with me." Accordingly *Perth* came in, attended by some of the chieftains, among whom were *Lochiel* and Dr. *Cameron*. These, understanding what had past, began to make an apology, by setting off the justice of their cause, and proceeding to remonstrate upon the glory that

that would accrue to his Grace's family, if he would join the righteous heir to the crown; they even went so far as to proffer to introduce him to the P—, or to bring the P— into the room to him. To which the Duke replied, with some emotion, "I neither want to see him, nor that he should see me! Don't tell me of heirs and pretenders to the crown, I might put in for my own claim." (William Earl of Douglas was a candidate for the throne against Robert the II. the first King of the name of Steuart, anno. one thousand three hundred and seventy, and his Grace was descended from Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England.) So addressing *Perth*, "I thought," said he, "*Perth*, you know me better: you might have come to me yourself." Then turning to *Lochiel*, he added these very words, "You, Sir, have " it in your power to take me prisoner, but you have " it not in your power to make me assist or acknowledge any heir or pretender to the crown. I lie " under obligations to no Prince, except to him who " sits upon the throne; and to him I am bound by " indissoluble ties of gratitude." Having so spoke he turned upon his heel and retired, with all the dignity and air of a *Douglas*. There was an universal pause, the chieftains looked wistfully at one another: and, being struck with the resolution and firmness of the man, they not only desisted from troubling him further, but saved his house from being plundered; however the army drank plentifully of his Grace's liquors, seized upon the arms which they found, and among these the sword which the great Sir *James Douglas* used at the terrible battle of *Bannockburn*, and

and at sixty-two more encounters, including those in *Spain* and in *Palestine*. But whether from the inability of any one man in the Pretender's army to wield the weapon which had contributed so much to fix the independency of *Scotland*, and to pull down the followers of *Mahomet*, or from the reverence which many of them bore to the venerable name of its first owner, certain it is, the sword was sent back, and deposited in the place from whence it was taken.

Finding little encouragement at *Douglas* they proceeded forward to *Hamilton*, where, meeting with the other body of their troops, they continued two nights, the Chevalier and his officers lodging in the palace, as the Duke of *Hamilton* was at *Lisbon*, for the recovery of his health, which, through riot and irregularity, had been miserably impaired. After regaling themselves, their van set out for *Glasgow* on the 25th, and next day the Pretender followed with the main body. They indeed made a most dismal appearance, being very much jaded with their winter campaign, and chagrined at their not being joined by numbers of the *English*, as they expected: however, for their comfort, they had the news of the landings in the north country. The Chevalier received letters from his Brother, acquainting him, that the Courts of *France* and *Spain* had acknowledged his title, and had resolved to support him: and, to crown all, the *French* ambassador took on his public character.

The Duke of Cumberland not being able to pursue his advantage at Clifton through grounds covered with snow, roads broken with ice, and darkness which was the greatest difficulty, rested his troops that night,

and next morning set out for and entered Penrith with all his forces; here were to be seen the melancholy vestiges of revenge; four shops having been broken, vast quantities of goods carried off, some thrown into the streets, torn and destroyed, as a punishment to the owners, for being concerned in the riot at Kendal on the Saturday before; some of their neighbours having informed against them. From the sight of this dismal scene, he began his march on the 21st for Carlisle, which he reached about one in the afternoon, and, at a mile's distance, surrounded it: Major-general Bland investing it on the Scots side, with St. George's dragoons, and three hundred of Bligh's regiment, to prevent any passage over the bridge of the Eden; Major Adams in the suburbs of the English gate; Major Meric at the Irish gate, and Lieutenant-colonel St. Andrew Agnew at the Sally-port, with three hundred men: the Duke himself rode round the place, though sometimes balls lighted within a yard of his horse's head, as the garrison fired upon all in their view.

Mr. Townley, the commandant, ordered the guns to be mounted upon the walls, the houses within reach of the batteries to be burnt, and several chevaux de frize to be fixed at the gates and entrances of the city, to prevent the approach of the horse. He was for making sallies on the King's troops, but in this last he was opposed.

His Royal Highness observing the posture of the city, and that it might cost some lives to take it by assault, without proper artillery, sent to Whitehaven for some battering pieces; accordingly four of eighteen-pounders

pounders arrived upon the 24th, and six of the same size on the 25th. No sooner were these up than the Royalists began to erect batteries, notwithstanding a continued fire from the walls, and by the 28th one of six pieces was finished from which they played upon the four gun battery of the town; but next day the firing ceased, for want of shot, till towards evening when a fresh supply arrived, and the fire being renewed with great briskness for two hours, caused the utmost consternation among the inhabitants, who in the most suppliant manner appeared before the commandant, beseeching him to think of preserving their lives; he went directly to Hamilton, governor of the castle, to consult what was proper to be done. A capitulation was proposed, to which Hamilton agreed; two letters were immediately written, and a man sent with them; who being brought to the Duke by an advanced party, delivered the one directed to his Royal Highness, and the other for the commander of the Dutch troops, supposed to be with the army, signed Geohegan, "Commander of the French artillery, and of the French garrison that was at, or might come to Carlisle, for defence of the town and citadel." The contents were to summon the Dutch officer to retire with his troops from the English, under pretence of the capitulation of Tournay.

The night of the 29th was spent in raising a new battery of three eighteen pounders, which was completed by the morning; when the old battery fired a platoon, as an earnest of what was to follow; this menacing aspect soon intimidated the garrison, who directly hung out a white flag, and called over the walls that
they

they had two hostages ready to be delivered at the *English* gate which is on the opposite side. On the *Lord Bury* and *Colonel Conway* were ordered to deliver the two following messages in writing;

"I. His Royal Highness will make no exchange of hostages with rebels; and desires they will let him know by me what they mean by hanging out the white flag?"

"II. To let the *French* officer know, if there is any in the town, that there are no *Dutch* troops, but enough of the King's to chastise the rebels, and those who dare to give them any assistance."

In about two hours they brought a written paper, signed by '*John Hamilton*, in the name of himself, and of all the officers and soldiers of the garrison,' informing, 'that the white flag was hung out on purpose to obtain a cessation of arms, and to know what terms his Royal Highness will be pleased to give them upon the surrender of the city and castle of *Carlisle*;' to which they received this declaration, signed by the Duke of *Richmond*, Lieut. General.

"All the terms his Royal Highness will or can grant to the rebel garrison of *Carlisle*, are, That they shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King's pleasure."

The terms were agreed to, the governor and principal officers surrendered, after sending a paper recommending themselves to the King's mercy, and begging the intercession of his Royal Highness. On this, *Brigadier Bligh* took possession of the town with four hundred

hundred of the foot-guards, seven hundred marching foot, and one hundred horse, who paroled the streets in the night time.

Next day, December 31st, the Duke entered *Carlisle* on horseback, amidst the blessings of the citizens, and the acclamations of the country people, who had conceived such an opinion of him, that upon his first appearance they flocked in with provisions, tools, and other necessaries, yea, and contributed with their own hands to advance the works against the town. They were enamoured to see the city restored to her King, to herself, and to them; while their satisfaction was crowned with seeing such things as were forcibly of otherwise taken away exposed to view, that all might receive their own on proving their property.

In the mean time the garrison was confined in the cathedral, and a list of their names and designations given in; but by a special order were neither stripped of their money, nor their clothes; for said his Highness, "They will need these during their confinement." There were here of *English*, Colonel *Townley*, five captains, six lieutenants, seven ensigns, one adjutant, ninety-three non-commissioned officers, drummers and private men, with the quarter-master *Cappoch*, chaplain to the *Manchester* regiment, who was to be no longer Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Of the *Scots*, Governor *Hamilton*, six captains, seven lieutenants, one of whom, *James Nicholson* of *Perth's* regiment, broke the capitulation by endeavouring to escape, which circumstance at his trial, not a little militated against him; four ensigns, one surgeon, two hundred and fifty-six non-commissioned officers, drummers, and private men.

Of

Of French, Sir Francis Geohegan, a captain of Lall's regiment, one serjeant, with four private men, Colonel Strickland, of no regiment, and Sir John Arbuthnot, captain in Lord John Drummond's. There were four six guns of one and half-pounders, three of four pounders, one octagon, all with carriages, four carbons, and two royals, all of brass.

His R. Highness, after having walked round the walls, and viewed the fortifications, was conducted to the same house, and laid in the same bed, where formerly the Pretender lay; and getting up as usual by three in the morning, had the pleasure about five hours after, of seeing not only the general officers and soldiers, but the nobility and gentry, with multitude of people who from all quarters repaired to him. The city of *Edinburgh* sent four deputies, among whom was Mr. *Patrick Haldane*, late Solicitor for *Scotland*, a gentleman of great learning and peculiar address, to congratulate him on his success, and to intreat him to honour him with a visit, if he came to *Scotland*. They were introduced by the Earl of *Perth*, received in the most gracious manner, and had the honour to dine with him, when he drank to the prosperity of that town, and of the adjacent towns in his deportment while here was every way princely and serene: he encouraged the people to persevere in their loyalty, and to apply to their daily business, for said he, "there is nothing to fear;" when speaking of the Highlanders, "he lamented that so much brave men should be misemployed, and even wished they would disband in time, before the forces, whom he had taken occasion to commend, were too much provoked against them, and their shattered remains should

fall into the hands of offended justice." After settling matters, and leaving the command of the troops destined for *Scotland* to General *Hawley*, he set out on the 2d of *January* for *London*, where his presence was necessary for curbing any invasion, which at that time was expected, notwithstanding the following precautions.

A proclamation was issued out, December 6th, for putting the laws, particularly the act of parliament of the 27th year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and another of the 3d of King *James* I. and VI. in execution against Jesuits and popish priests, and promising a reward of 100l. for every such person after conviction within *London*, *Westminster*, the Borough of *Southwark*, or within ten miles round those places. Upon the 11th a priest, and his landlord for harbouring him, were confined in *Newgate* for remaining in *London* beyond the time appointed.

Upon the 12th, advice came that an embarkation of troops was carrying on with great expedition at *Dun-
kirk*, where already were most of the vessels for that purpose, and that furniture was shipped on board for one thousand horses. In two days a proclamation was published, commanding the wardens, sheriffs, mayors, lieutenants, justices of the peace, and other officers, to cause the coasts to be carefully watched, all cattle and every other thing that might be serviceable to the enemy after landing, to be removed, alarm posts were fixed; the several guards were ordered to be in readiness to march upon the first notice of any tumult or insurrection in *London* or *Westminster*; the signal was firing seven half minute guns at the *Tower*, which were to be answered by the like number in *St. James's*

James's Park; on hearing of which, every officer and soldier of the six regiments of the city militia, and the two regiments of the *Tower Hamlets*, were to repair with their arms, and a sufficient quantity of powder and ball, to their respective places of rendezvous on pain of being punished as deserters. Signals were also settled on the coasts of *Sussex* and *Kent*, whither four thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse were dispatched; the same was done on those of *Essex* and *Suffolk*, whither three thousand foot and one thousand horse had repaired, by putting out flags in the day, and lights on the tops of the steeples and castles in the night, so that notice of an invasion would be at the *Tower* and *St. James's Park*, in a few hours. The men of war at *Portsmouth* put to sea, and took up 40 merchantmen to be armed for cruising in the channel.

Admiral *Vernon*, whose name for the taking of *Porto Bello*, anno 1739, had once resounded throughout *Europe*, with Commodores *Smith* and *Boscawin*, were already at sea, each with a strong squadron. The *Dover* privateers had voluntarily gone to the Admiral, in order to receive and follow his instructions; on which he wrote them a letter from on board the *Norwich* in the *Downs*, dated December the 10th, assuring them, that he would take care to reward every one's services, and endeavour to procure from the crown, an ample consideration for their zeal.

Upon the 12th two of those *Dover* ships fell in with 8 transports bound from *Boulogne* for *Dunkirk*, under convoy of a *French* man of war of twenty-two guns, to take troops on board; they seized three of them, sent one of them that night to the Admiral in the *Downs*, and the other two to *Dover* next morning.

Upon

Upon the 19th they fell in with about sixty sail, mostly fishing boats and small vessels from *Dunkirk*, bound, as they supposed, for *Calais* or *Boulogne*, to take in troops. Near the first place they drove seventeen of them on shore, blew up one, sunk two, and brought three away, two of which were directly carried into *Dover*, but the third was lost in that bay. All these vessels had some warlike stores on board, such as small cannon, powder, ball, horse colours, clothes, bedding for soldiers, and poles about seven feet long, spiked at each end with iron. Two of less value from *Rouen* to *Boulogne* were afterward sent in.

The very day that the *Dunkirk* embarkation met with this disaster, the King sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, "that he had undoubted intelligence of the preparations at *Dunkirk*, and other *French* ports, for invading his kingdoms, and that already a person (Lord *John Drummond*, brother-german to *Perth*,) had actually landed in *Scotland*, and emitted a treasonable declaration at *Montrose*, December the 2d." "That he was come with written orders from the *French* King, to make war upon the Elector of *Hanover*, and those who would not assist the Prince Regent in the recovery of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, whose undoubted title his most Christian Majesty, with the concurrence of the King of *Spain*, is resolved to support, at the expence of all the men and money he is master of."

King *George* further told them, that "he had ordered into this kingdom the 6000 *Hessian* troops taken into *British* pay the 11th of June last, by
virtue

“virtue of a treaty with the King of *Sweden* as
 “*Landgrave of Hesse Cassel*, the better to prevent the
 “invasion and to suppress the rebellion;” and concludes,
 “that he has no doubt of their enabling him
 “to make good that agreement, and concur with him
 “in such measures as may best defeat the attempt.”

A copy of the treaty being laid before them, an address was drawn up, “thanking his Majesty for
 “communicating the advices he had received, and
 “for his paternal care in providing for the security of
 “his people, by directing the *Hessians* to be brought
 “into the kingdom; and assuring him of their making
 “good the expence on that account; and of their
 “readiness with their lives and fortunes to support his
 “sacred person and government;” and so concluded
 with “declaring their detestation and abhorrence of
 “the impious design.”

Next day the country was alarmed by a letter from
 Admiral *Vernon* from on board the *Norwich* in the
Downs, to Sir *John Norris*, at *Deal Castle*, or to the
 Mayor of *Deal* in his absence, informing, that great
 numbers of small embarkations were brought from
Dunkirk, and that several of them were laden with all
 sorts of military stores: that the *Irish* troops had
 marched to *Calais* from *Dunkirk*, where General Count
Lowendalk, and many other officers, were with a young
 person, said to be the Pretender's son; and advising
 to assemble the neighbouring towns in their defence,
 promising on his part the cruizers signal, which is a
 jack flying at the top-mast head, and to fire a gun
 every half hour, in case the enemy approached.

The

The Deputy-Lieutenants of *Kent* published the letter, with a warm invitation for all within twenty miles of the coast to appear in arms on the 22d on horseback in *Swinfield Minis*, and to bring two days provision with them. About 4000 people of the adjacent parishes took arms, and brought pick-axes, shovels, and other necessaries.

Notwithstanding these advices, many were of opinion, that the preparations about *Dunkirk* and its neighbourhood were only to amuse; for Capt. *Gregory* of the *Norwich* reported, that upon taking a view of *Dunkirk*, there were but five or six vessels in the road, and very few in the harbour. Commodore *Knowlet*, afterwards Governor of *Jamaica*, informed the Admiralty, that he had stood within half a mile of the pier head of *Boulogne*, and within two or three of *Calais*; that in the harbour of the former there were not sixty of all kinds, the largest of them a galliot hoy, whose gaff was much higher than any of the other vessels' mast heads; and that there was not a single one which had a topsail yard rigged aloft; that within the pier of the latter there were three or four topsail vessels, the rest, about thirty, being only galliots or fishing-boats. From these reports we may judge, whether the fears of a *French* landing were ill or well founded? Which ever was the case, the enemy on finding how the scale was turned, gave over their alarms.

For the troops were cantoned conveniently along the coast, and the Duke was returned from the chace to St. *James's*, where on the morning of the 5th, being Sunday, he arrived in perfect health; was at chapel, afterward in the drawing-room, and did not
appear

appear in the least fatigued, though he had not been in bed for three days, his countenance being as vigorous and lively, as if he had not gone through a winter's campaign in the midst of snow, ice, and other hardships. The whole Court appeared very gay on the occasion, and every one seemed to take a particular pride in paying him their compliments.

Besides these cantonments, and the forces that were to encamp at *Finchley*, there were two armies, one under General *Wade*, at *Newcastle*, and another who had served so well under the eye of his Royal Highness, composed of the regiments of Lieutenant-Generals *Ligonier*, *Richmond*, *Sinclair*, and *Albemarle*; Major-Generals *Howard*, *Skelton*, and *Blana* Brigadiers *Semple*, *Douglas*, and *Bligh*; Artillery, *Lesley*, *Bernard*, *Roper's*, Brigadier-Majors, Colonel *Sowle's*, and Colonel *Johnson's* regiments; besides *Gower's*, *Montague's*, *Halifax's*, *Granby's*, and *Cholmondley's* new raised regiments of foot, each consisting of 824 men, *Montague's* and *Kingston's* new levied horse, containing each 273; together with Major-General *Oglethorpe's* body of 1000 horse, with which he had been detached from General *Wade*, who was no sooner at *Newcastle*, than he sent 1000 of his best infantry, and 500 horse to the assistance of the Duke, who, to keep up an harmony among all ranks, never failed, as in the case of the gentlemen and inhabitants of *Whitehaven*, and of the few who rose under the Duke of *Portland*, to return his hearty thanks in writing, for their commendable zeal in the cause of their country.

But the gloomy prospect of meeting with too warm a reception after landing, was not more discouraging
than

than the landing was precarious and uncertain; for *Vernon*, whom the *French* then as much dreaded as the *English* loved and admired, was at sea with 11 ships of the line, from 70 to 16 guns, 15 small tenders, privateers, and custom-house sloops, leaving proper squadrons under the respective commanders at the places where attacks were apprehended.

But further, the *British* nation were not single in defending King *George's* title to the crown, by covering the sea with fleets, and guarding the coasts with numerous forces; for *Europe*, except *France* and *Spain* declared for it.

Christian VI. of *Denmark*, more united by interest than blood, or the recent tie of marriage betwixt his son and the *British* Princess *Louisa*, who since died in child-bed, proffered not only the 12000 troops in *British* pay, but all his forces, if they could be carried over. The old King of *Sweden*, that intimate acquaintance of our Kings *George I.* and *II.* rightly judging, what was the case of King *George* to-day might be his on the morrow, declared his abhorrence of the impious attempt, contrary to the faith of treaties; and though King of a people naturally lovers of the *British* nation, but through policy in the interest of *France*; yet he let out the troops of his *Landgraviate* in support of our King; and it is remarkable that many *Swedes* served among them. The same might be observed of the King of *Poland*, who notwithstanding he had one daughter married to the Dauphin of *France*, another to the King of *Naples*, and had his brother Count *Saxe*, whose incredible strength of body was not so great, as his bravery and gallantry

gallantry of mind, a Mareschal of the *French* armies; yet suddenly he clapt up a peace with the King of *Prussia*, under the mediation of King *George*, that the former, with the House of *Austria*, might be at more liberty to act in support of his right. The *Prussian* Monarch, though frequently so docile as to march his army by the direction of the Court of *France*, and receive his 1,400,000 florins, offered his whole army to his Royal uncle. The Empress of *Russia*, though raised to the throne by the intrigues of the House of *Bourbon*, yet, pressing the steps of her father *Peter* the Great, proffered a quota of troops to be employed as the Court of *Britain* should direct. For these and other reasons, *France* left *England* to extinguish the rebellion now driven into *Scotland*, where several vicissitudes of good and bad fortunes had in the Pretender's absence attended the royal cause.

For no sooner had the rebels left that kingdom, than the œconomy of the different places was restored as much as possible, only the Court of Session did not sit, which made it necessary to frame an act of parliament, securing every person's right, and importing, that the time of the troubles should not be detrimental in any action.

The clergy now restored to their several congregations, recommended loyalty to their King, and regard to their country.

The Presbyterian church of *Scotland* is founded upon the plan of M. *Calvin* a *Frenchman*; with this difference, that whereas he reformed from the church of *Rome*, they have reformed from him. The *Westminster* confession of faith is the standard by which they

they go; in their worship they neither use liturgy, nor notes; and in their discipline, there is no subordination of officers among them. They have synods instead of diocesan bishops; and their assemblies supply the place of convocations of the clergy in *England*.

The commission of the *Scots* assembly published a warning to the people, and the inferior judicatures followed their example.

The masters of the university at *Edinburgh* returned, and on the 21st began to teach in their respective halls, being now secure, as General *Roger Handasyde*, in Sir *John Copes'* place, had arrived from *Berwick* upon the 14th with Colonel *Price's* and *Ligonier's* regiments of foot, *Hamilton's* and *Gardiner's* dragoons. The night they entered was one of the most boisterous that has been observed, and proved fatal to several ships; among whom was the *Fox* man of war of 20 guns, which perished with the crew. Her wreck some time after was thrown in nigh *Dunbar*, where was found and decently entered the corpse of Captain *Beaver*, who had so well defended the passage of *Kinghorn* during the stay of the rebels in the *Lothians*. His skull was terribly fractured, and his eyes eat out of his head, he having, as was apprehended, been dashed against some craggs by the violence of the waves; his whole body was miserably disfigured, and had it not been for his legs, which were remarkably long, he could not have been distinguished.

On the 13th the Lords of Justiciary, attended by the Freeholders of the counties of *Merse*, of *East* and *Mid-Lothians*, entering the city on horseback, and passed through the street then crowded with spectators.

They

They were met by the late magistrates at the cross, and loudly huzzaed by the people. Thence they proceeded to the *Parliament Close*, where alighting, they advanced to the house, and being seated, *Andrew Fletcher* of *Miltoun*, then Lord Justice Clerk, informed them, " That he and his brethren, conscious of their
 " duty to their King, their country, and themselves,
 " laid hold of the first opportunity of returning to
 " this capital, to endeavour with their help to restore
 " peace, and revive the civil government; to shew to
 " the world how little accession the southern parts of
 " *Scotland* had to the recent calamities from which
 " they were lately delivered; that Marshal *Wade* had
 " ordered a body of troops to march for protection of
 " this city, and the adjacent country from insults;
 " that if the present troubles did not subside, provi-
 " sion should be made against any future disturbance;
 " that the heritors of every parish should make up
 " lists of the able-bodied men in their respective lands
 " proper to be entrusted with arms; that these were
 " to be delivered to the respective sheriffs, to be
 " transmitted by them to the persons appointed by
 " the King for that purpose; that application should
 " be made to the established church for their assistance
 " in that affair."

The sight of these was very agreeable upon the anniversary of the battles of *Preston* and *Dumblain* thirty years before; the castle fired a round from her great guns, and the music-bells played tunes suitable to the occasion. The methods proposed were complied with. A new subscription was opened by the city of *Edinburgh* for raising 1000 foot for his Majesty's service,
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and persons by advertisement were invited to sign; gentlemen and clergy, some of whom headed their parishes, and acted the foldier, appeared in numbers; and in a short time a sufficient sum was paid down; the drums beat through the city for recruits, and such as had lifted formerly, but had been obliged to disband on account of the rebels, were now desired to repair to their duty, when they should enter into the pay of 4s. per week, without discount. In a short time 400 men enlisted, and were daily trained in *Parliament* and *College Close*, by such as had skill.

The 18th of December was by a Royal Proclamation, dated November 12th, to have been observed as a day of humiliation and fasting; but by an unlucky circumstance it was kept at *Edinburgh* and many other places rather as a festival; for on the Monday before, a false piece of intelligence, that the Duke had attacked the rebels at *Lancaster*, and totally routed them, being published in the *Evening Courant*, the symptoms of grief gave place to those of joy; the clergy preached the news from the pulpits, and exulted in the event.

The family of *Argyle* had ever been patrons of liberty. *John* the second Duke of *Argyle* promoted the union of the two crowns, and defeated the rebel army in the year 1715, when the present Duke, a nobleman of the utmost politeness and humanity, was his aid-de-camp. At the breaking out of the rebellion 1745, *Archibald* the third Duke of *Argyle*, a nobleman who shone among the sons of genius, was of signal service to the government. He had been at *Rosneath*, one of his family seats, and getting one of the Pretender's letters into his hand, and information concerning another, he

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shewed

shewed the same to Mr. *Craigie*, the then Lord Advocate, who only laughed at the matter; adding, that nothing could be apprehended from seven persons; to which his Grace replied, "On account of the fewness of his numbers, the more is to be feared: "and," with a smile, "the number seven is frequent enough among the *Romans*." The matter was likewise laughed at by the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, and other officers of state: which when his Grace observed, he refrained from coming to the privy council, till sent for, and then he readily told his mind; and wrote to the principal gentlemen to be ready in the service of their country."

The militia of *Argyleshire* were soon mustered, the act of parliament against any number of Highlanders rising in arms being suspended: and happy had it been for many poor people that the same had sooner been done. Arms and warlike stores were shipped off from *Liverpool* for their use; and the present Duke of *Argyle*, then General *Campbell*, set out from *London*, to take upon him the command of these levies.

That officer had on the 4th of November arrived in the *Thames* with his regiment from *Flanders*, as did those of General *Handasyde*, Brigadiers *Skelton*, *Bligh*, *Mordaunt*, and *Semple*, with the Highlanders. All these officers, from the moment of their landing, were busied in the service of the Government; but none more than General *Campbell*, who arrived at *Inverara* on the 31st of *December*, with a commission to raise 3400 men, which was soon effected. The private soldiers had full pay, but the officers only half. One --- was stationed at *Campbeltown* in *Kentire*, to prevent

vent any invasion from *Ireland*, and to overawe the disaffected clans scattered through the shire: the camp was formed at *Inverara*, whence detachments were sent out to protect the country. One of these, of 300 men, attacked a squadron of the *Macgregors*, put them to flight, killed two and took seven prisoners. Garrisons were put into the castles along the coast, and the remainder only waited an opportunity of joining the regular forces.

So laudable an example was soon followed through the western counties. The city of *Glasgow* raised a regiment at her own expence; which was provided with arms from the castle of *Edinburgh*, and put under the command of the Earl of *Hume*. The town of *Paisley* levied a corps of 210 men. The shire and town of *Renfrew* armed, under the Earl of *Glencairn*; as did the inhabitants of the respective counties, under their immediate superiors and Lords. The same spirit of loyalty spread through the eastern and southern parts of the kingdom, while the storm raged in the north, and several unhappy people were carried down the stream of rebellion.

Some small detachments of *French* troops dropped in with their privateers; and on the 30th of *November*, Lord *John Drummond* arrived at *Montrose*, with 600 men, 15 pieces of cannon, some of which of 18 pounders; these animating the party, they marched to *Perth*, where they formed a camp, to which some people of desperate conditions actually repaired.

Among the number of those was Lord *Lewis Gordon*, a petulant and refractory young man; the late Earl of *Cromartie*, a nobleman who in the heat of liquor

liquor was prevailed on to join. When at *Inverness* he proffered his service to Sir *Jahn Cope*, who not only refused it, but slighted his Lordship's son so far, as not to bestow upon him a commission in a regiment of Highlanders then rising for the Government: a circumstance which however trivial in itself, was yet made an handle of to stir up a man who had never been remarkable for judgment or sagacity, during the course of his life.

Such a powerful appearance in the north, under the Viscount of *Strathallan*, who had been left by the Pretender to secure the landings from *France*, at last prevailed on the *Frazers* to espouse the cause, in which their Chieftain had been so long and so deeply involved.

The Earl of *Loudon*, being then in the country, told Lord *Lovat*, that he had as much against him as would hang every *Fraser* in his district; and the Lord President of the Court of Session dissuaded him by letters, to the utmost of his power: the former went to his seat of *Castle Downie*, planted cannon against it, and carried old *Simon* in a chaise to the prison of *Inverness*; out of which in three days *Fraser* of *Gortuleg* delivered him; for carrying a bundle of straw into his room, under pretext of forming an easy bed for his Lordship, he stripped him to his shirt, rolled him in the straw, carried him out on his shoulders, and that night conducted him to *Gortuleg*; where he kept up a treasonable correspondence with the Pretender and his principal followers.

This powerful party soon lorded it over the friends of the Government; a great body of whom was routed
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at *Inverary* by Lord *Lewis Gordon* on the 22d of *December*; the *Monros* and *Macleods*, with Mr. *Ministland* the sheriff, were defeated by an handful of men.

An impotent attack or a faint resistance is the greatest service that one enemy can do to another, the latter of which happened at *Inverary*, and at once determined the fate of that vast tract of ground inter-jacent between the *Forth* and the *Spey*. The public money was raised; the farmer and the proprietor were taxed in an arbitrary manner; the cattle and carriages of the labourer were seized; and the landings from *France* were supported. Lord *Loudon* could not spare any men from his camp to regain the superiority; he and the President had sufficient business on their hands, to thwart the stratagems of *Lovat*, and to hinder recruits from going to the enemy: and indeed in this they acted their parts so well, that Sir *Alexander Macdonald*, who could command eight hundred followers, with above five thousand others, were retained in their allegiance and duty.

But notwithstanding all their advantages, their communication with the lower parts of *Scotland*, was cut off, by a squadron under the command of Admiral *Byng*, and sometimes their reinforcements from *Dunkirk* were taken: as on the 25th of November, when the *Lewis* privateer of *Dunkirk* was taken by the *Milford* man of war, and in it one hundred and six men, three hundred and thirty stand of arms with bayonets, as many broad swords, with a great number of saddles and other furniture for horses. To balance this loss to the Chevalier, the *Hazard* sloop of war fell into the hands of the *French*, who carried her to *Dunkirk*,
and

and converted her into a privateer, to which they gave the name of the *Prince Charles Snow*. She three times carried money to the troops, and ammunition, for the use of the enemy, and at a critical juncture fell into the hands of her first owners, who restored her to her service and name.

Such was the condition of *Scotland* when the Pretender entered it, and by his presence threw the balance into the scale of his party: At *Glasgow* they were supplied with every thing necessary, such as tartan, broad cloths, linen bonnets, and shoes, the city was assessed in ten thousand pounds, and the army lived upon free quarters. *Paisley* and *Renfrew*, with the other adjacent counties, were assessed in sums beyond their ability: and as the people of *Lismahagoe* had been, in a particular manner zealous against his cause, the same was burnt to the ground. In short the Highland army spread themselves from the *Clyde* to the *Forth*, obliging the regular forces to withdraw to *Edinburgh*, opening to themselves a communication with their friends in the northern counties. The young Chevalier wrote a letter with his own hand to Lord *Lovat*, confirming another that had been signed by three of the principal chieftains, earnestly begging he would pull off the mask, and take upon him the sole command as generalissimo.

After a repose of nine days, he set out on the 4th of January for *Sterling*, taking hostages with him for payment of the money exacted from the city: they soon got possession of *Stirling*; but the castle there held out against them. General *Blakeney*, the governor, refused to treat with them any other way than
from

from the mouths of his cannon ; and they had got no artillery fit for carrying on a siege ; that article was supplied by Lord *John Drummond*, and was transported on a brig which they had seized ; the *Pearl* sloop of war not being able, on account of the shallowness of the water, to prevent it : nor could they hinder the troops from *Perth* and *Montrose*, on account of the fire of the batteries that had been erected on either shore by the enemy, from joining the main body of the Pretender's forces.

Things being in this situation, the army of Marshal *Wade* was ordered to march into *Scotland*, to perfect what his Royal Highness the Duke had so well begun ; and the command thereof was given to Lieutenant-general *Henry Hawley*, an officer of experience, though but indifferently beloved by the private men. He had been a Lieutenant-colonel in *Evan's* dragoons at the battle of *Sheriffmuir*, a circumstance which promoted this choice more than the rigour and severity for which he was but too remarkable. The officer next to him was Major-general *John Husk*, a gentleman who knew *Scotland* well, having been quartered with his regiment of *Welch* fusileers in the *Canongate* of *Edinburgh* about ten years before. He was exceedingly well beloved both by the forces and the people of the country.

The sending of *Wade's* army was extremely well judged, as that under his Royal Highness had gone through so severe a campaign. Perhaps no *English* army ever marched in so rigorous a season, and never did troops go more cheerfully through danger and fatigue. It must be owned that they had uncommon encouragement

encouragement; the King sent each foldier two pair of shoes on his own charge; the Prince of *Wales* remitted to them 500*l.* the citizens of *London* sent them 12,000 pair of breeches, 12,000 shirts, 10,000 woollen caps, 10,000 pair of woollen stockings, 1000 blankets, 12,000 pair of knit woollen gloves, 9000 pair of woollen spatterdashies: the Duke allowed them 10*l.* every day out of his private purse, to enable the private men to pay the landlords of the inns where they might dine, or be quartered over night; but the generality of the inn-keepers refused to take any money from them, and the country people furnished them with horses. Notwithstanding the march must be supposed to be fatiguing, to men who sometimes entered a town about eleven at night and were obliged again to be in arms by three in the morning; yet

*No toils were painful that could danger show,
Nor clime, unlovely that contain'd a foe.*

The troops destined for *Scotland* set out by detachments, and by different roads: some took the rout of *Haddington*, others that of *Lauder*, and a third marched by the coast road, through *Dunbar* by *North Berwick*, finding every where the most hearty and cordial reception. At every place where they halted they were supplied from a fund appropriated for the purpose: each foldier had a pound of beef, a pound of bread, two-thirds of a quartern of gin or brandy, and a bottle of ale: and the farmers for thirty miles round brought their horses to help them forward. By the 10th of *January* the whole had arrived at *Edinburgh*, where they were joined by *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* dragons.

Price's

Price's and *Ligonier's* regiments of foot, the *Glasgow*, and *Paisley* militia, which with those of the *Lothians* amounted to 4000 men, well armed, well clothed and hearty in the government's cause.

On the 13th of *January* General *Huske* marched with the foot regiments of *Monro*, *Cholmondley*, *Price*, *Ligonier*, and *Batterau*, the *Glasgow* militia, *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* dragoons; and next day the regiments of *Price*, *Barrel*, and *Pultney* marched by the way of *Borrowstonnes*; and on the 15th were followed by *Fleming's*, *Blakeney's*, and a battalion of *Sinclair's*. They all rendezvoused on the 16th at *Falkirk*, where, next day, they were joined by 1300 of the *Argyleshire* militia. They indeed made a very noble appearance, and amounted to 8000 men: three-fourths of which knew their business very well, and the far greater part had served under his Royal Highness at the battle of *Fontenoy*. In short, nothing but management was wanting to bring things to an effectual and speedy conclusion.

General *Hawley*, having followed the army the day after the last division had quitted the city, and brought with him *Cobham's* dragoons, fell into one of these mistakes which since the days of *Sampson* have been accounted fatal to a commanding officer.

Scarce was he at *Falkirk*, when he received a message from the Countess of *Kilmarnock*, desiring the favour of his company. An invitation from a Lady so remarkable for wit and gaiety, could not be refused. *Hawley* went up to the callendar, where he was entertained with great politeness and decorum, and the morning of the 17th proving rainy, she made a posset for him with her own hands, to fortify him against the damp.

damp and the cold; he continued at the callendar till between twelve and one in the afternoon, notwithstanding the frequent expresses brought him, that the enemy was in the neighbourhood. At last one of these was so importunate, that the General resolved to depart, and yet the ascendancy of the Countess was such, that she prevailed on him to dine before setting out; and in the mean time the troops in the camp sat down to dinner also; but before it was ended the Highland army was observed to move up the hill, and to extend themselves upon it, at the distance of a mile south-west from them; for Lord *George Murray*, brother to the Duke of *Athol*, who was that day the chief commander, had artfully placed the standard at the *Torwood*, where it continued standing, till the Highlanders were just entering the ground they intended for the field of battle. About two hours before, General *Huske* had, through a glass discovered their colours at four miles distance, directly west of his camp: on which he formed the army, to prevent a surprize; but could not march forward, either to the heights whereon was the battle, or toward the standard, without orders from the superior officer.

The Royalists looked at each other with impatience and astonishment, gazing for *Hawley*, but *Hawley* was not to be found. Toward three o'Clock he appeared all at once, and observing the enemy on the brow of the hill, he put himself at the head of the cavalry, who advanced with great resolution and swiftness sword in hand, the infantry following as fast as possible, and huzzaing as they approached. Unhappily for him the enemy was duly prepared; for just when the horses
were

where within three yards of their lines, they gave so close a fire, that men and horses promiscuously tumbled down; some indeed broke through their ranks, but these opening, every one of them was either killed or taken prisoners; while the major part turned their heads and scattered with great impetuosity and vehemence, in spite of their riders, who did every thing possible to retain them. They returned upon the flank of the *Glasgow* militia, which they threw into the utmost disorder; the confusion spreading insensibly, four regiments out of fix, that composed the first line, were hurried down the stream, and the rout had been general, had not Brigadier *Cholmondely* stop it at his division; for wheeling with *Barrel's* and *Ligonier's* foot the Old Buffs, and a battalion of the *Scots* Royal, these advanced some paces with a good aspect, and the enemy began to hasten forward; but that division commanded by General *Huske* gave them so close and full a fire, as made them halt without proceeding further. Unhappily for the troops, Colonel *Cunningham* of the train, had fled off without planting the artillery, and the conductors had run away with their horses. A violent storm of wind began to blow full in the face of the Royal army, wet their cloths and their cartridges, so as to render them incapable to proceed, as the flints would not strike, the powder would not burn, and the twentieth gun was not fit to be discharged. Both armies looked at each other, the Highlanders being unwilling to move for fear of an ambush, and in hopes of surprising them next morning, as they had done by *Cope*, at *Preston-pans*. General *Huske* saw into the extent of their design, and therefore moved off, with drums beating, colours

colours flying, and the other signs of a brave and resolute behaviour, and joined the shattered runaways, who by this time had been rallied by Sir *John Mordaunt*, as were the dragoons by Colonel *Francis Ligonier*. They all advanced to *Falkirk*, where, for fear of a surprize, it was agreed to march that night to *Linlithgow*, as it was not safe to stay in the neighbourhood of a resolute enemy, without cannon, or any other kind of artillery. This being settled, the *Argyleshire* militia drew up at the bottom of a park dyke, and along their line the troops defiled, till all were passed, and the militia forming, brought up the rear. They advanced that night to *Linlithgow*, viz. six miles, the wind and rain still continuing, and next night the whole came to *Edinburgh* in such panic and surprize, that it is not improbable but one thousand desperadoes could at that time have cut the whole army to pieces. One thing is certain that if ever the Highlanders wanted a day fit for using their swords, it was the 17th of January 1746, when they were so much assisted by a storm, and the bad management of the officer commanding against them. It is true, that on the field of battle the two men, who had the Pretender's cause most at heart, were that day the ruin thereof. When his cavalry first began to pursue on the separating of the dragoons, Roy *Steuart* cried out, "Gentlemen, keep your ranks, these are only *Cope's* dragoons, you have the battle yet to fight;" and when Lord *John Drummond*, another aid de camp, observed the Royal *Scots* to wheel, he called out to the troops, who were upon the point of running down upon them, "that regiment behaved admirably well at *Fontenoy*,
 " pray

"pray keep your ranks;" and so they desisted: but what was still more, Lord *Kilmarnock* proffered to conduct them through some inclosures, by which they could get sooner to *Linlithgow* than the Royalists; but in this he was not believed.

Such surprizing escapes were attributed by some to the immediate hand of Providence, without considering the means by which the interposition thereof so signally appeared; but let us trace out the means by which the same wrought so powerfully in behalf of the King's army.

When the enemy saw that the royalists were gone, they began to march, both to secure the baggage of the troops, or to attack them at *Falkirk*, as they saw opportunity. *Cameron of Lochiel*, with his two battalions, entered the west end of the town, just as the rear of the King's army was marching from the east, and *Falkirk* is not above three quarters of a mile long. At this very instant he was told, that the *Argyleshire* militia brought up the rear; an event which not a little startled him, and all at once made him become pensive and thoughtful. By his mother, a sister of Sir *Duncan Campbell* of *Lochnel*, he was related almost to all the officers of the *Lorn* battalion. And by his lady, a daughter of Sir *James Campbell*'s of *Achinbreck*, he was connected with all the officers of the *Kilmartin* battalion: and these were the militia who were there. Many of his own officers were closely connected with them likewise, not only by blood but by correspondence, neighbourhood, and traffic. He was only in the rebellion from a false principle of honour, and from passing his word to Lord *Lovat* in an unguarded moment;

moment; he could not think of fighting hand to hand with men for whom he had a thorough kindness, and the most sincere and affectionate regard. The other officers observing a sort of backwardness in him, without considering the prevailing motive, gave over all thoughts of a pursuit for that night; contenting themselves with seizing upon *Hawley's* baggage (among which was the very post chaise that carried him to *Scotland*) with that of the general officers, nay, of the whole army; for neither soldiers nor officers retained any thing but their arms.

Such was the battle of *Falkirk*, in which the King's army were repulsed, but not broken, and in which the enemy made so little of their advantage. On the side of the former, 250 were killed, among whom were Colonel Sir *Robert Monro*, the Lieutenant-Colonels *Whitney*, *Biggar*, and *Powell*, three cornets of horse, thirteen captains, and two Lieutenants, three hundred were wounded, and about two hundred and thirty taken prisoners (but these were mostly of the *Glasgow* and other militia) with Captain *Thornton*, and seventeen of his *Yorshire* blues. He continued among them for some days, when *William Henderson*, a chapman, contrived his escape, by secreting him in a chest, and keeping him close in that repository, even while the rebels were in the room in quest of him.

On the side of the enemy about fifty were killed, but none of note, and as many wounded; among whom were Lord *John Drummond*, and *Lochiel*; one Major *Macdonald* was taken prisoner. He had seized upon one of the dragoon horses after his rider had been killed, and mounted on horseback. The horse,

on hearing the drum beat to arms, in consequence of *Ligonier's* rallying the dragoons, ran off with the Major into the midst of them without halting. Finding himself in a net, he began to act as one of the *Argyleshire* militia; but General *Huske* discovered that he was an impostor, and had him secured. He was afterwards hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Carlisle*.

Never was a body of forces of such undoubted bravery and reputation repulsed with so small a loss, and never was a victory improved to so little advantage; and yet the poor country continued to bleed for some time, in consequence of the strange and surprising event, which was indeed the most surprising, as it was believed at *St. James's* that the rebellion had breathed her last, and that the public tranquillity had been restored.

When the news of the battle of *Falkirk* first reached *London*, it raised an universal surprise; for the removing of which the Duke of *Cumberland* set out on the 25th, by two in the morning, for *Scotland*; where he arrived about three in the morning of the 30th, attended by *James Duke of Athole*, the Earl of *Albemarle*, Lord *Bury*, Lord *Cathcart*, and some other officers. The citizens of *Edinburg*, on the night before, had expressed their joy for the coming of their deliverer, by the most splendid illuminations, the ringing of bells, and other demonstrations of gladness; and although the day was intensely cold, yet multitudes went out to meet him.

No sooner had he arrived than he sent notice to the general officers to come to him by eight in the morning, and to bring with them such accounts as were requisite

quifite with regard to the fttuation of the forces whose numbers by this time had been recruited by the arrival of the dragoons of *St. George*, and of General *Bland*, with the Duke of *Kingfton*'s horfe, and the foot regiment of Colonel *Campbell* and the Lord *Semple*: a military cheft, efcerted by a party of *St. George*'s dragoons, towards paying the army, came in; as did fixteen pieces of cannon from *Newcaftle*, in order to replace the ten which had been loft at *Falkirk*; and with thefe came a fufficient quantity of ftore, with 40 gunners and matroffes to work them. Every thing was put into the beft pofture imaginable; only fome feverities had been ufed by *Hawley*, which tended to difcourage thofe under his command. Many of the private men were whipped in a terrible manner; and the shrieks and cries of their wives and children were too piercing to be related. Four dragoons were hanged at one time, in the *Grafs-market*, about noon, and continued on the gibbet for twenty-four hours; two were to fuffer on the morning when his Highnefs arrived; but the fentence was refpited, and they were received into their own corps.

At the time appointed, the general waited on him, with an account of what was paff; and thefe threw no blame on each other. *Hawley*'s conduct was approved; and yet it was judged, that he was more proper to obey than to command. Brave bold *Husk* accused nobody; and wanted only to cruft the infurrection, and to reftore the public tranquillity. While the general officers were in the room with his Highnefs, the nobility and fuch lords of feffion as were in town, went to congratulate him on his arrival. About
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one o'clock, the ministers of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, and such others of that profession as were in the place, went in a body to welcome him, and lastly came the masters of the university, who had the honour to kiss his hand, and met with the most gracious reception.

This being over, he walked down stairs, to view the sixteen pieces of cannon in the Close, and upon the spot where the Pretender had stood before. As he came out of the gate, the drums ruffed, a loud and a continued huzza ensued. He walked along the cannon, placed in two parallel lines, scarcely taking his eye from off them, and looking all the time majestic and serene. This being over, he returned to the room, the same in which the Pretender had lodged before, sat down to dinner with his officers, and then began to concert the operations of the army.—The result of the consultation was, that the troops should march the next day, by four in the morning: the orders were secretly intimated; and never did more cheerfulness appear among a body of men: for, repining at *Hawley's* severity, they looked upon his Royal Highness as their deliverer and friend. Some soldiers who had after the battle of *Fontenoy* been compelled to list in Lord *John Drummond's* brigade, embraced the first opportunity of deserting, and gave the King's troops the best intelligence in their power; their services were ungratefully received by General *Hawley*, but now were properly acknowledged.

At the time appointed the troops were in readiness to march. About half an hour past four in the morning they set out in two columns, consisting of four-

teen battalions of foot, the *Argyleshire* militia, and the dragoons of the Viscount *Cobham* and of Lord *Mark Ker*. General *Huske* led the van, and the artillery brought up the rear. About nine his Highness set out in a coach, that had been sent him by the Earl of *Hopton*, a nobleman so well affected to the Government, and so well disposed, that he sent twelve guineas to every foot regiment, and twenty five to the *Argyleshire* Highlanders. And here his Highness acted every way like a soldier: for, as the report of the guns in *Edinburg Castle* could in a clear day be heard at *Stirling*, so he wanted that no intimation should be given to the enemy: and, as a further precaution, *Ligonier's* and *Hamilton's* dragoons were ordered to patrol along the roads leading westward. Coming up with the troops at about seven miles distance, his Highness put himself at the head of the *Royal Scots*, and as he passed along the lines, earnestly expressed himself in these terms: "Gentlemen, "there is a near prospect of a battle, and if there is "any person here who is unwilling to engage, let him "speak freely, and with pleasure they shall have my "discharge: nor shall their quitting the service be "ever thrown out as a reflection on the country to "which they belong." The whole answered with repeated shouts and acclamations; and the two soldiers pardoned that morning were the first to raise the huzza. That night eight battalions marched to *Linlithgow* with the Duke, and Sir John *Mordaunt* with six to *Borrowstonness*; the dragoons to the adjacent villages, and the *Argyleshire* men in front towards the *Avon*. Next day they were put in motion
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by four in the morning, and at the west end of the bridge were drawn up in order of battle, in which they marched towards *Falkirk*, and were joined in their way by the dragoons, the militia, and by the Brigadier *Mordaunt's* division, about ten in the morning they entered *Falkirk*, but saw no enemy.

By this march of the troops, the siege of the castle of *Stirling* was raised. It had not been very hard pressed, on account of the unfitness of the enemy, and the resolution of General *Blakeney*, to hold out to the last. He answered the summons of the Pretender in very pertinent terms: "That he was always looked upon as a man of honour, and that the rebels should find he would die so." The cutting off all communication with the town did not dishearten the garrison, then consisting of six hundred men. Two batteries that had been erected under cover of some wool packs, were dismounted by the fire of the garrison; and these suffered no inconvenience except in the breast-work of the rampart, a small part of which was beat down. *Stirling* was delivered before it was aware, and the Castle was relieved before it was known the Duke of *Cumberland* was arrived. The enemy moved off their baggage on the 31st in the morning, with about twenty pieces of cannon, having spiked up some others; and endeavoured to set fire to a magazine of powder, which had been laid up in the church of *St. Ninian*, to prevent its falling into the hands of the troops: however, the train missed, and the noble fabric of *St. Ninian* might have been standing, had it not been for seven stragglers who lagged behind, went to the church in quest of prey, and in expectation of some

some household furniture that had been hidden there in great quantities : a private man called *Mackintosh* came to the window, and, at the desire of a *French* engineer, fired a pistol through it. The shock was sudden ; the powder blazed ;—the plunderers, the incendiary, the seats and roof blew up in the air, and the stones flew about the Church-yard, struck some of the town's people, while the whole were stunned at the terrible convulsion. The report was heard for many miles round : the Duke's army rightly judging it to be an indication of a retreat, Brigadier *Mordaunt* was sent forward with the dragoons and the *Argyleshire* militia to harraßs them, but they were gone too far ; and the enemy looked upon it as an attack upon one of their parties. They had already crossed the *Forth*, and now redoubled their flight towards *Crief* ; where, holding a council of war, they separated themselves into different bodies, and appointed *Inverness* to be the place of their rendezvous. Their scheme was to make the country as serviceable to them as possible ; to collect the public money, and to take up provisions ; and to favour the landings from *France*. The greater part, with the Pretender at their head, took the road to *Perth*, where they threw the swivels, taken out of the Hazard sloop, into the *Tay*, and nailed up thirteen pieces of brass cannon, of eight and twelve pounders. Here they sub-divided, Lord *George Murray* taking the rout by *Dundee*, *Montrose*, *Aberdeen*, *Bamff*, and *Elgin* of *Murray*, while the Chevalier and the principal clans advanced by the way of *Blair of Athole* ; where after staying five days they continued their march to *Ruthven of Badenoeh* ; the barracks

sacks of which they blew up: and finding a man, called *Riddell*, who was carrying letters to Lord *London*, which he had secreted between the soles of his shoes, the poor fellow was taken up and hanged: From this place they proceeded to *Angymore*, where the *Grants* of *Strath-Spey* entered into a neutrality with them, neither to fight for or against them. Hence they went to *Inverness*, where Major *George Grant*, the Governor, gave them little trouble; for, contrary to the advice of Mr. *Thomson* the gunner, and of Lieutenant *Graham* of *Gaird's* regiment, he surrendered the Fort upon no other condition but that of saving his own baggage; while that of his officers and private men were permitted to be taken by the enemy. There were in the Fort about a hundred of the name of *Grant*, many of whom lifted with the enemy, or were permitted to depart by the interest of friends.

When all was over the Pretender came from *Castlehill* into the town, and had the pleasure of seeing the chief place and principal fort in the north in his hands. By this conquest he acquired 12 pieces of cannon, 16 barrels of powder and ball, besides other ammunition and military stores, 100 barrels of beef, and 500 bolls of oatmeal. A governor was directly appointed, however short lived was his command; for the outworks and body of the place was soon blown up. A strange delusion indeed! to destroy a castle which gave lustre to the town, and on which the government had expended 50,000*l.* but thirteen years before.

On the very day when the fort surrendered, the van of the party which had taken the coast road came
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into the town, and the other divisions successively arrived, making the most of their march; for having met with two *Spanish* privateers at *Stonehive*, they took 100 chests of arms out of them, besides a large quantity of powder and ball, which Roy *Steuart* took particular care to transport safe to *Inverness*, which was for this time denominated the head quarters.

The rebel army being got together, detachments were sent every where to secure provisions, and to keep the country in awe. Every shire and district was visited by such as seemed best acquainted therewith; the *Camerons* and *Macdonalds* of *Glengary* were sent to Fort *Augustus* and Fort *William*; the former fell into the hands of the enemy, with Major *Wentworth* the governor, and three companies of *Guise's* regiment, a ball having fallen into the powder magazine. The Fort was turned into a place of confinement for the troops which they could not transport, and so continued till the 13th of April, when the whole barracks, on which the Government had expended £30,000. were blown up. The garrison of Fort *William* was more fortunate; and notwithstanding the town was burnt, yet Captain *Scott* the governor, took such care of the fort, that he disputed every inch of ground with them, and obliged them to retire with the loss of their batteries, which consisted of the artillery taken from Sir *John Cope* at the battle of *Preston-pans*, and two large mortars. We cannot pass over this account of the prisoners, who fell into their hands, without taking notice of a fact, which does not a little illustrate the spirit of the party. Such of the soldiers of the garrison of *Inverness* and Fort *Augustus* as were confined

fined in the former, were put into a church, and there stripped of their clothes, in order to bestow them upon the recruits that were coming in. Fortunately for them, one *Fleming*, the Marquis of *Tullbar-*
don's gentleman, came by and saw their distress; the men complained of their hardships, and he was prevailed on to intercede in their behalf. Their clothes were soon ordered to be restored, which indeed they had better have wanted, for many of them listed with the adventurer, and soon came to an untimely end; perhaps the party wanted to clothe the *Frazers*, who now crowded in with impunity. Before this time many of them refused, till *Macdonald* of *Barisdale*, and young *Frazer* of *Imeralachy*, carried the bloody cross among them, and threatened to burn them in their own houses, if they did not take up arms and rebel.

Lord *Cromartie* was sent into *Ross-shire*, as the bulk of his estate lay there; and *Macdonald* of *Barisdale* was dispatched after the Earl of *Loudon*, and the militia under his command. Happily for his Lordship the fire from the garrison prevented their crossing the bridge after him; they were obliged to ford the *Nefs* a considerable way nearer the mouth of the harbour, and all the time the royalists were gaining ground, and had passed the ferry of *Kessoch* before their pursuers could arrive at the shore thereof. This obliged *Barisdale* to march about five miles higher up, to cross *Beulie*, and from thence to follow their pursuit. The next day he came in view of them about three in the afternoon, and certainly would have committed a most dreadful havock, had it not been for the *Vulture*
floop

sloop of war, whose head just appeared within the *Sutors of Cromartie* as *Barydale* and his corps were seen upon the brow of the hill. The loyal militia huzzaed, and made every other signal for the *Vulture* to come near, but they had no boats to send off to her; the signals were known, the sloop came as near as possible, and fired three cannon toward the hill. Three of the corps fell by the shot, several were wounded, and the remainder returned the way they came. In the mean time the loyalists were transported into *Ross-shire* on board the *Vulture's* boats, and other small craft as they could find on the opposite shore. They proceeded in their rout to *Sutherland*, where they encamped at *Dornoch*, the only town in the county. In this manner they acted in the shires more immediately in their power, and continued to send out parties every where, even within a day's march of the grand army, where no preparations were neglected to bring matters to a final conclusion.

For no sooner had his Royal Highness got rid of the compliments of the city of *Glasgow*, and the deputies from the adjacent villages and towns, than he set out from *Falkirk* to *Stirling*, which he entered amidst the loudest acclamations and huzzas, that were answered by three rounds from the cannon of the fort. It was indeed no wonder, for the common people of that part of the kingdom are in a particular manner devoted to Presbyterian church government, which the Pretender would never ratify: and to heighten their satisfaction, the Duke was attended by a number of prisoners, who at the late battle had fallen into the hands of the enemy. He only staid here till the 4th,

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when the arch of the bridge, that had been blown up by General *Blakeney* for retarding the progress of the enemy, had been repaired. That day the army marched and proceeded to *Crief*, where they arrived next morning, while one party turned to castle *Drummond*, seized the Dutchess of *Perth*, and another to *Strathallan*, and took the Viscountess, both of whom were escorted to the castle of *Edinburgh*, where on the 11th they were closely confined, there being the strongest suspicion that the former had prevailed on her son, and the other on her husband to join the Chevalier. Next day the troops advanced to *Perth*, where magazines of provisions were laid in. Here the noblemen and gentlemen of the adjacent counties waited on him, as did the ministers and the deputations from the towns. He received them all in a very princely and becoming manner, and then returned to business, from which no visits could divert him. Detachments were instantly sent out to secure the passes; Sir *Andrew Agnew* was dispatched to *Dunkeld* with 500 of the infantry and 120 of the *Argyleshire* militia; Lieutenant-Colonel *Leighton* was sent with a party of 500 men to Castle *Menzies*, in order to prevent the excursions of the enemy. Here he continued till the 18th, when he set out for *Edinburgh*, attended only by Lord *Cathcart* and some few servants, in order to confer with his brother-in-law the prince of *Hesse Cassel*, who had lately arrived from *Holland* with a body of 5000 men.

These troops had been hired from *Frederic* King of *Sweden*, in consequence of an agreement concluded at *London* with the *Hessian* envoy. His *Swedish* Majesty

was to receive the annual subsidy of 150,000 crowns while the treaty existed, and 250,000, if they should be dismissed before the determination of it; they were to receive the same pay as the national *British* troops, were only to be employed in *Great-Britain*, or in support of her allies in the *Low Countries*; the charge of their transportation both coming and going should be defrayed; eighty crowns were to be paid for every horseman that should be wanting, and thirty for every foot Soldier. In consequence of this agreement, they repaired to *Williamstadt*, where on the 5th they embarked on board thirty-six transports, and under convoy of four men of war arrived at *Leith* about five o'clock at night of the 8th.

A very proper and timely supply, especially as the *Dutch* troops had been recalled, in order, as was given out, to prevent the incroachments of *France* upon their barrier; nay so very pressing where the *States General*, that even while the Pretender was in *England* they not only made a requisition of the auxiliaries which they had sent over, but also of a body of the *British* troops to protect them. His Highness of *Hesse* received the same honours as his brother-in-law, and his corps was cantoned in the best and most commodious manner; they were really very fine troops, clothed in blue, with white livery, whose shape was varied for distinction sake; their hussars, about 500 looked extremely well, wore scimitars of a great length which hung by a cord tied round their bodies; their horses were long-tailed, of a strong make, and generally black, of a much less size than those of the *British* army, but more durable and fit for use; they were
mostly

mostly *Swedish*, or of that brood, which is reckoned the most serviceable in the northern nations.

The royal brothers having met and consulted together, the result of their conference was, that the *British* army was to march to *Aberdeen*, and the *Hessians* to *Perth*, and from thence to *Blair of Athole*, in order to stop the return of the enemy, and to hem them in upon every quarter. The plan was followed and the *Hessians*, with the Earl of *Crauford* at their head, advanced to *Blair* with only two men killed, and one wounded by some random shot that had been directed against them from behind bushes and some copes of wood.

His Royal Highness being returned to *Perth*, he on the 20th put the troops in motion in four divisions: two of them took the road of *Cowpar* of *Angus*, whither two battalions of foot and 250 horse had marched six days before; another directed their march to *Dundee*, the artillery followed, and by the way of *Forfar* and *Birchin* arrived on the 22d at *Montrose* with the main body of the army. Here the magistrates behaved in a very handsome manner; they in a body complimented his Highness, and very hospitably entertained the troops; the officers were regaled in the best houses of the town, while every soldier had either rum or brandy, and a biscuit for their refreshment.

At this place a court martial sat for the trial of some officers, one of whom was broke for rifling the house of Mr. *Oliphant* of *Gask*, notwithstanding that gentleman was in the rebellion. On the 24th his Highness emitted a proclamation for such as had returned with
their

their arms, or such as had any of their effects to bring them in, those who had been assisting to them, and lurking about the country, to give in their names and places of abode to the next magistrate or minister of the church of *Scotland*, and entirely to submit to the King's mercy.

On the 26th his Highness set out for *Aberdeen*, where on the 28th he arrived with the troops; the magistrates went out to meet him, and ushered him into the city, which he entered amidst repeated and accumulated huzzas; the masters of both colleges stood before the gate welcoming him in, and next day waited on him, as did the clergy, who were all most graciously received; the principal noblemen and gentlemen came to pay him their compliments; the Duke of *Gordon*, the Earls of *Aberdeen*, *Kintore*, and *Finlater*, with the Lords *Braco*, *Forbes*, and *Stirchen*; and at last the Laird of *Grant*, with 100 of his name. This step was looked upon by the rebels as a breach of the neutrality; Lord *Nairn* was sent into *Strath-spey* with the regiment of his name to remonstrate against it, when he was told that an handsome retinue attending their chieftain, was no substantial infringement of the bargain; *Nairn* admitted the apology, and being not only regaled with his party, but supplied with a considerable quantity of provision for the camp, he retired with all-possible satisfaction.

While at *Aberdeen* his Highness acted in so princely and amiable a manner, that friends and enemies were obliged to confess the superiority of his genius, and the most distinguishing abilities. He daily rose at four, reviewed his troops, appeared at entertainments,
walked

walked the streets with his officers, and established hospitals for the sick; he likewise sent out parties to scour the country, one of which consisting of 200 foot and 80 horse, marched up the *Don* to *Braemar* to seize upon the rebel magazines, and to recover the booty of the southern counties, which lay concealed here. The clergy were very assisting in this expedition, as they conducted the detachments to the shallows and fords of the river, and directed them to the hidden caverns where the magazines and valuable effects had been secreted. During this search none but actual rebels were molested, nor were any goods seized, except such as had been forcibly taken away; for when some soldiers went to a gentleman's house and robbed it, the officer was tried and broke by a court-martial; another was served in the same manner for taking six guineas from a merchant of *Aberdeen*, as a reward to preserve his shop from being rifled. In word, nothing was wanting to animate the troops, and to protect the country on the part of his Royal Highness.

Of the different parties sent out from the camp none met with the least disaster, except a small detachment belonging to the Earl of *Albemarle*.

That nobleman had been sent to a place called *Strathbogie*, the ancient seat of the family of *Gordon*, and with him General *Bland*; having under his command the regiments of *Barrel*, *Price*, *Cholmondely*, and the *Scots Royal*, *Cobham's* dragoons, *Kingston's* horse, and sixty men of the *Lorn* battalion. Just about this time *Roy Stewart* and Major *Glasgow* had come down with an intent to penetrate as far as possible.

ble. His royal Highness had an account of their sign before his lordship had got half way to the place appointed; on which he sent Colonel *Conway*, one of his aid de camps, to *Inverurie*, with orders to General *Bland* to march forward to attack them. *Bland* in motion in a moment, he joined the foot regiment in their way from *Old Meldrum*, and both marched with such alacrity, that they were within half a mile of the enemy before they were discerned. The rebels then waiting dinner, fled off immediately; only some of their hussars drew up upon the green, and made shew of standing upon the defensive; but this was only to favour the retreat of the foot. They withdrew with great dexterity to a place called *Westertown* at a mile's distance, and there halted until a party of the *Argyleshire* militia appeared in their front, and a squadron of *Kingston's* horse were observed to ford the *Deveron* below them. This determined them to fly off. The Royalists pursued to the top of the hill *Cairnie*, but there stopped; only the Marquis *Granby*, Colonel *Conway*, and other volunteers advanced a few yards farther, and fired some pistols, but no fire was not returned; for *Roy Stuart's* intention was to decoy them into the middle of a party, who had been there laid in ambush, but he was disappointed.

A few days after, *Roy Stuart* contrived another scheme for seizing upon thirty of *Kingston's* horse, and fifty *Argyleshire* Highlanders, at a place called *Kelso* within six miles of the *Spey*. These had marched to the hill above *Castle Gordon*, but retired for fear of being overpowered. The enemy taking them for an out-guard of a much greater body, set out after the

about ten at night, and arrived by one in the morning. The avenues to that town were stopt; Major *Glascoe* came up to the sentry, who said, "Who's there?" "A friend," replied the other, "of the Duke of *Cumberland*," and directly seized him. The man was disarmed, and a pistol held to his breast, threatening immediate death if he cried; two others were served in the same manner: fortunately one of the centinels fired and gave the alarm; all was confusion at once: *Kingston's* horse were all taken, that were present, except five, with two men and a cornet; a party of the Highlanders were seized in their beds, except twelve men, who retired to the church yard, and fired from it: however, these were soon overpowered, and driven into the church, out of which they fired, and received the fire of the enemy through the windows; seven of the party were killed, and five wounded. In short, only one escaped to the Earl of *Albemarle*, who dispatched an express to *Aberdeen*; the Duke sent him two battalions, and ordered out Brigadier *Mordaunt*, with three others, and four pieces of cannon, to *Old Meldrum*, to be near to support his Lordship.

This successful attempt upon *Keith* was the very foundation of their not pursuing a design still more ample and extensive: for *Roy Stuart* had laid a plan for surprising the Earl of *Albemarle* in his head quarters; fortunately for his Lordship, one *Maccary*, a school master at *Glasf*, got intelligence of it, and communicated the same to the camp. The troops were kept in readiness, and under arms, so that the enemy did not come forward;—however, by watching and impatience the men became weary and fatigued; they

they had watched for three days and three nights together, and about twilight of the third day, the messenger again brought information that the enemy was drawing near. His Lordship of *Albemarle* did not believe him, and therefore speaking to him in a manner different from his usual politeness, he ordered him to be sent to *Aberdeen*, where he received five hundred lashes, wilfully giving false intelligence : he was likewise disciplined at *Old Meldrum*, and *Strathbagie*, and then dismissed with orders to tell the rebels that the King's troops were prepared for them. *Hawley* was the occasion of this severity ; " For," said he, " his design is to run the army through want of sleep, and then to bring the enemy upon them." This indeed was the design of *Roy Stuart*, but not of the poor man. Notwithstanding his hardship, *Maccary* gave no hurtful intelligence to the enemy : and yet these heard of the punishments he had undergone, and the message sent by him. Overawed with the alertness of the King's troops, they kept near the *Spey*, at the distance of twelve long miles from *Albemarle's* quarters ; from whence, as from them, there were sent out patrolling parties, to get the best information possible of each other's progress.

Though these incidents might have diverted the enemy, yet it could not effectually have prevailed on them to lay aside the design of surprising the troops in the night time. Secretary *John Murray*, who about this time fell sick of a cold, was the person who altered the method of their proceeding, and advised to fortify the banks of the *Spey*, and wait the Duke's army at this place.

The river of *Spey* is one of the most rapid in Europe; by experiment it is found to run at the rate of fourteen miles in an hour, and for the space of thirty miles meandering through a fertile country, it empties itself into the sea, a little below *Garmouth*, a small village famous for being the landing place of King *Charles II.* anno 1650. No river in *Britain* is so swelled by the rains and the snows. The hidden caverns in *Galloway* don't fill the *Tweed*, the heights of *Bradlebane* do not send such a supply from their melted snows into the *Forth*, lake *Tay* and its adjacent eminences do not so fully replenish the river of its name, the *Dee* does not receive such a quantity of water from *Baremar*, nor the *Don* from the hills of *Innercauel*, as the *Spey* does from the mountains of *Badenoch* and the impetuous stream that runs into it; and its narrowness, being about forty yards over at a medium, contributes to the velocity of its flow. For fifteen miles it rolls with great force, and only in three places are fords to be found. *Cromdale* is the highest; the ford of *Achamanie* is about eight miles lower down, and hither *Roy Stuart* was sent with 700 men draughted from different corps, and two pieces of cannon. Nine miles lower was the ford of *Bellie*, over against *Gordon* castle, and near the mouth of the river. Lord *John Drummond* had the direction of the batteries to be fixed there. These were ordered to be placed upon two eminences, so as to flank each other within the reach of cannon shot. The rapidity of the river and steepness of its banks gave them the greatest encouragement; but in this they deceived themselves, as in other things: For Lord *John* was no engineer, and

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the batteries, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Secretary, were neglected. The Pretender was at a distance, busied about other things; he was receiving recruits in great numbers from among the different branches of the *Catti*, and from the western parts of *Rossshire*, as also several supplies from abroad: at times he affected to be gay, paid visits through the country, and once declared his curiosity to see a salmon caught with a rod upon the water of *Beuly*. His parties were not come from the excursions on which they had gone out. A battalion of the *Athole* men had been sent to *Gushiville* and *Cainachan*: these surprised a small party of the *Argyleshire* militia; but could make no impressions upon the quarters of the *Hessians* or of the Earl of *Crawford*. Another party had gone to *Sutherland*, where the very advantage which they obtained turned out to the detriment and loss of their cause.

The following is the notable scheme of which so much mention has been made, contrived, and executed by *Perth* in person, for surprizing the *Sutherland* militia, and dispersing the corps under the Earl of *Loudon's* command. He got together about forty large boats, on board of which he put a body of fifteen hundred men, draughted from the different divisions of their grand army. By means of a thick fog he, on the 29th of March, set off from *Burghhead*, and crossing the *Firth*, landed with the greater part below *Dornoch*, and sent about two hundred men to surprize the out-guard at the *Kittle*, three miles to the westward: the bulk of the militia were seized in a moment; only some few escaped to be messengers of their

their own disaster : and the Earl of *Loudon*, being at the pass of the *Bonar*, to observe *Barisdale*, who was on the opposite side of the water, could give them no assistance. *Sutherland* fell into their hands, and a communication with the plentiful county of *Caithness* was now opened : the detachment sent to the *Kittie* came to *Dornoch*, and spread desolation as they had done in *Rossshire* before. All were treated alike, provided they were for the Government. The clergy were visited without distinction. Those of *Eastern Ross* were at that time, for the most part, truly amiable men : those of *Sutherland* were not inferior in point of candour and other christian virtues : however, no distinction was made.

While the enemy was spreading over *Sutherland*, and Lord *Cromartie's* son was riding into *Caithness*, where his success in raising men was nothing, but where he took up a considerable quantity of meal for the Pretender's use, the Earl of *Loudon* retired to *Strathnaver*, where he had an immediate opportunity of doing a more substantial service to the government, than if he had continued undisturbed in his camp.

For on the 26th, the *Prince Charles* snow had run ashore, on the shallows near *Tonge Bay*, after an engagement of five hours with the *Sheerneys* man of war. Her men and money were landed that night, and next morning they set out : however, they had not gone far when eighty-six of Lord *Loudon's* militia and about an hundred of *Reay's* men fired upon them from some eminences : six of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and as many wounded : the remainder became disheartened, and surrendered with the money and the
arms

arms they were carrying with them. They were conducted on board the *Sheernefs*, whose captain took possession of the prize, in which were found fourteen chests of pistols and sabres, thirteen barrels of powder, besides ammunition and military stores, with 12,500 guineas in cash : all which, except the cash, were conducted to *Stromnefs* in *Orkney*, whither the captain sailed on the information received from the prisoners who were about one hundred and twenty, including soldiers and sailors, with twenty officers. At *Stromnefs* twelve ships were relieved, and a privateer of fourteen guns, that had laid an embargo upon them, was taken.

As the Pretender's party was now in possession of the country, a visit was expected by Lord *Reay*, who embarked with his treasure and the prisoners ; and, arriving at *Aberdeen* on the 6th of April, he gave such an account to his Royal Highness, as entirely determined him to decamp, in order to give battle to the enemy before they should be joined by the embarkations carrying on at *Dunkirk*, as he learnt from the prisoners, or by others who might be dazzled by the glittering appearance of his good fortune.

Every thing being got in readiness, the army marched on the eighth of April, and, by the way of *Old Meldrum* and *Bamff*, arrived at *Cullen* upon the 11th, where he was joined by the Earl of *Albemarle's* battalions, and next day proceeded to the *Spey*. His Highness, with General *Huske*, led the van, which consisted of fourteen companies of grenadiers, the *Argyleshire* militia, and all the horse, with two pieces of cannon, which were immediately planted upon a ground that
commanded

commanded the ford over which the army was to cross. As Lord *John Drummond* had not expected his Royal Highness at the time, so the batteries were not finished, and such as were there, fled off with precipitation on seeing *Kingston's* horse enter the water, and galloped off to *Elgin* with the news.

The van being come to the river, his Highness was the first to enter the water at the head of the horse, who forded it a little above *Garmouth*, while the grenadiers and highlanders passed somewhat higher up: the infantry passed over as soon as they arrived. And though the water was very cold and up to their middles, yet they went on with great cheerfulness. Thus the whole got over, with no other loss but that of one dragoon and four women, who were carried down by the stream.

The troops were cantoned that night on the banks of the *Spey*, and next day proceeded to *Elgin*, the party who had deserted the *Spey* keeping at a proper distance before them. It was Sunday, and the people were just coming out of church: they crowded about the Duke with uncommon alacrity and gladness, pouring out their blessings upon him, and even reckoned themselves happy if they could but kiss his boot; he held out his hands to them in the most condescending and gracious manner, and with great affability asked some women, as they thronged upon him. "Will you give me a share of your brose?" He was invited to step into the town, and to take a little refreshment; but he excused himself in the most princely manner, by telling them that he was a soldier, and upon his march. So truly amiable was his deportment, and
so

to winning his behaviour, that the people could not but admire him. At a mile's distance the army halted and dined, the Duke's table being the head of a drum; from thence they marched to *Alves*, and the next day set out for *Nairn*, where they arrived that night, being then within twelve miles of the enemy. *Perth* continued at the end of the bridge till *Kingston's* horse came within an hundred yards of him, and then galloped off at a full stretch, never halting till he was at *Inverness*, where the Pretender had but only the night before heard of the Duke having passed the *Spey*.

Next day being the anniversary of his Highness's birth, the troops rested; but by a particular order, they were not allowed to observe it otherwise, than that every private man had half a pint of rum and a biscuit given them. These were supplied from the transports which kept pace with them; however, in every other place, except where the Pretender prevailed, it was kept as a jubilee; in some towns the Pretender was hanged in effigy, which, with a skirmish that happened at *Golspie* in *Sutherland*, was an omen of the stunning blow, which next day he received.

The Earl of *Cromartie* and his son, with some officers, being at *Dunrobin* on a visit to the Countess of *Sutherland*, who was in a different interest from her husband, had the curiosity to see one *Dr. Vanhoven* perform some feats of activity: While his corps was marching to the *Little Ferry*, he was taken up with his diversion: the servants of the family apprized a party of the *Sutherland* militia who were at a small distance from them. Poor *Cromartie* had in *Lochroom*
issued

issued forth the most horrid and execrable orders, such as to hang men at their own doors, and burn their houses if they did not join the Pretender's standard; and in this place, several very cruel things were done, inconsistent with humanity. The *Macgregors* and *Barisdale's* corps were in the country, and there was little provision to be found; *Cyderhall*, the most elegant house in the shire, was burnt, and in it, a granary of meal; the house of *Kintredwell* was also set on flames, as was another at *Kilgour*; incidents that could not fail to provoke.

During the time of his Lordship's diversion, the militia got together, and contrived to surprize him, *Barisdale* was on the other side of the ferry: he had none with him but the poor men whom he had forced from their own houses, and who were poor inoffensive innocents. These marched in a body, and were near two miles from *Dunrobin* when his Lordship set out. As he came to the brook of *Golspie*, a party of twenty six men fired upon them from a church yard; their horses startled, and directly returned; the party pursued them, but on coming to *Dunrobin* they found only shut doors; on which one *Mackay* desired access, and being told that every person who appeared in view was to be fired upon: "What!" says *Mackay*, "fire upon one man;" a phrase which he so frequently uttered, that the gate was opened, and he was let in. Accordingly he went up stairs to *Cromartie*, and insisted on his surrendering; so going down again, he told the sentry that his master had surrendered himself, and that it was needless to stand out any longer: he delivered up his arms and the keys, and some of his party

party coming up on a signal given, they were put in possession of every thing. In the mean time those who had marched forward were attacked and broken; they fled to the ferry, where they were made prisoners; *Cromartie*, with his son, Lieutenant-colonel *Kendal* in the *Spanish* service, and nine other officers, were conducted in their boats to an island in *Brora Water*, and from thence were carried on board the *Hound* sloop of war, which on an express concerning the event, had loosed from *Cromartie*, in order to take them in. All this time *Barijdale* was marching toward the *Bonar*, in order to join the Chevalier, who now prepared for a stand.

From the flight of his men having intelligence of the Duke's approach, he called in his out-parties, and drew them up in the street of *Inverness* on the 14th, and then marched at their head to the parks of *Castlehill* and *Culloden*, where they encamped that night, and next day drew up in order of battle upon *Drumossie Muir*, with their batteries placed to the right and left of them, and one of four pieces in the centre; they were in high spirits, all hearty and well. Towards nine at night they discovered some uneasiness, to remove which the Pretender proposed in a council of war, to march forward, and surprise the Duke's camp in the night-time. Accordingly they set out about ten, in two columns; that on the right was conducted by himself, and that on the left by *Perth*; they marched in the most silent manner, orders being given for no man to speak above his breath. By three in the morning the right column was within two miles of the Royalists, and could hear the sentries call and
answer

answer to one another, "Is all well?" "Yes" all is well." Here they halted upon a large heath for the second column for half an hour, but the troops thereof had mistaken their way; so that by the time they came in sight, the morning dawn began to appear, and one of *Kingsfon's* horsemen was observed by an out-party to gallop full speed toward the camp; by which it was concluded that their arrival would soon be known. A dejection of spirit was now legible in their faces; and the Pretender was heard to say, "D——n it! "Are my orders still disobeyed?" They returned, and came up to their former ground about eight, and rested upon their arms, to ease them from the fatigue they had gone through.

There is not a part in this whole expedition in which the truth is so hard to come at, as whether the Pretender did well or ill, not to attack the Royalists in their camp. The fact is represented literally as it was; and from this we may safely conclude, that if the Pretender, who depended so much upon stratagem and surprise, came really in quest of a coffin or a crown; it was not like a soldier to proceed with a full resolution to engage before returning. The corn fields about *Nairn* were not more advantageous to the royal army than the common whereon the action happened. The troops were not entrenched; and the dawn of the morning is known to be the fittest for startling horses. *Charles XII. of Sweden*; to whom his friends have so frequently compared him; would not have marched back without trying the fortune of war; nor yet would the Duke of *Cumberland*, notwithstanding all the precautions that had been

taken. For his Highness, on the night before, rode round the camp, and surveyed all the avenues leading thereto; the men were drawn up in order of battle, with the cannon in front, and the horse in the rear; three regiments were drawn up about his own quarters, which were in the house of Mr. Rose of Kilsnock, a gentleman of great humanity and good nature, and a sincere friend to the government. Parties were appointed to patrol for three miles round; that is, from the water of *Nairn* to the *Firth*; by the first of which his Highness was secured on the left, and by the latter his rear was protected. Several gentlemen have declared, that if the enemy had attacked, they would have been rather in a worse situation than at *Culloden*. Be that as it will, certainly every possible method was taken to prevent a surprise, and his Highness not only visited the parts, but spoke to the officers to encourage the private men; he rode along the lines with a cheerful countenance, and said, "My brave boys, we have but one march more, and all our labour is at an end; sit down at your tent doors, and be alert to take your arms." He was answered with the strongest protestations of loyalty, and retired to his lodging, where he supped with his general officers, and appeared exceeding cheerful during the whole time. Several of the clergy crowded into the room, some to give intelligence, and others out of curiosity; but he desired them to go home and assist the troops with their prayers. This being over, he composed himself to rest, but without taking off either his boots or his clothes, till about three in the morning, when getting upon his feet, he directly walked down stairs, and coming

coming to the front, was agreeably surprised, to find the whole in battalia, and under arms, which had been done in about two minutes after the first alarm from one of the patrolling parties. Without hesitating a moment, he ordered every soldier a glass of brandy, a biscuit, and a little cheese, and so the army set out in four columns in pursuit of the enemy. The three lines of foot, each of five battalions, were broke into three from the right; the artillery followed the first, and the cavalry made the fourth upon the left; and though a storm of hail drove full in their faces, yet still they advanced. They had marched about eight miles before the enemy was perceived; forty of *Kingston's* horse and the Highlanders, led by the Quarter-master-general, had the first view of them at two mile's distance, making a motion to the left of the army, who instantly turned their faces from the West, in order to front them. In this position they continued some minutes, till observing those whom they had espied to retire to their main body, they put themselves in their former posture, which they kept till within a mile of the enemy, where again they formed as before.

It was not till eleven o'clock, when the two armies got a full view of each other, that the rebel chiefs entered seriously into a council. Lord *George Murray*, *Lochiel*, *Roy Stuart*, and almost all the chieftains were against fighting that day; however, *Boyer*, the *French* Ambassador, and the officers of the brigades, insisted upon it. *Stapleton* even went so far as to say "The *Scots* were always good troops till they came to a crisis." An expression which fired them
so

so much, that *Lochiel* has declared oftener than once, "That he did not believe there was an Highlander in the army who would not have run up to the mouth of a cannon, in order to confute the odious and undeserved aspersions." And in this temper of mind were they when the Duke was within a mile of them. Their cannon was fired, to let such as had fallen asleep know that the King's army was advancing: they were wakened by the noise; the Pretender galloped from the house of *Cullodan*, as did the M. of *Tullibardin*, and the parties ran into their respective battalions.

Both armies were now ranged in order of battle: the Royalists (about eight thousand five hundred men) extending from right to left were drawn up in two lines. The first was composed of the regiments of the *Royal Scots*, *Cholmondley*, *Price*, *Royal North British Fusileers*, *Monro*, and *Barrel*; the second was made up of the regiments of *Batterau*, *Blakeney*, *Howard*, (alias the *Bufs*), *Fleming*, *Blyth*, *Simple*, *Ligonier*, and *Wolfe*. There was a corps of reserve, from whence the Duke ordered *Pulteney's* to the right of the *Royal*, the better to cover the enemy, who before this much outlined the troops; there was a morass on the right, which secured them from a surprise on that side, and the dragoons under Generals *Hawley* and *Bland* were, with one hundred and fifty of the *Highlanders*, ordered to the left, in order to fall upon the right flank of the enemy; the other part of that corps being left to guard the baggage behind the whole.

corps

The rebel army, consisting of nine thousand men, stood formed in three lines; the first was composed of the *Athole* battalions, headed by their respective Colonels; that of the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, Lord *Nairn*, Colonel *Menzies*, *Robertson of Blairfitty*, and *Steuart of Kainachan*; next them stood the *Camerons*, *Mackintoshes*, and *Macdonalds*: Lord *George Murray* commanded on the right, and Lord *John Drummond* on the left. Their second line was made up of the *Irish* brigades, and seventy of *Fitzjames's* horse, Lord *Lewis Gordon's* regiment, with those of *Perth*, *Roy Stuart*, *Glenbucket*, *Kilmarnock*, Lord *John Drummond*, and Lord *Ogilvie*. The Pretender stood with a body of horse behind the whole, almost opposite to the centre, but without reach of musket shot. Their lines were distant from each other about five hundred yards, whereas those of the King's troops were not above fifty; the enemy's cannon was placed in three divisions, consisting each of three pieces, that of the Duke, consisting of ten pieces, was planted in five divisions, two being in each. Things being in this condition, his Royal Highness ordered them to advance, and riding along the lines in a very soldierly and comely manner, he called out to them: "My
" brave boys, your toil will soon be at an end: stand
" your ground against the broad sword and target;
" parry the enemy in the manner that you have been
" directed, be assured of immediate assistance, and I
" promise you that I shall not fail to make a report of
" your behaviour to the King; and in the mean time,
" if any are unwilling to engage, pray let them speak
" freely, and with pleasure they shall have their dis-
" charge

“charge.” These words were uttered with such earnestness, and in so lively a manner, that one would have thought he had already conquered. The whole soldiers gave repeated declarations of their standing by him, and so they advanced. The battle would have begun directly, but one *Robert Frazer*, the same who had been secretary to Lord *Lovat*, by insinuating himself with the corps of the artillery, led them a wrong way; he conducted them up an hill, and over a marshy ground, in which a wheel of one of the carriages was broken; but things being righted, some more horses were yoked in order to draw it through, and a tenant of *Kilravock's* stepping up, conducted them to the best and plainest road. The army was now within five hundred yards of the enemy, when the morass ended which covered their right, to remedy which, *Kingston's* horse and sixty of *Cobham's* dragoons were ordered to supply that deficiency. The next day was rainy, and the wind began to rise from the north, and the army endeavoured to keep it on their back, while Lord *Bury*, now Earl of *Albemarle*, was sent forward with some few troops to reconnoitre what appeared somewhat like a battery. His Lordship went on, and their cannon began to play against him; but being ill served and ill pointed, the balls flew over the heads of the whole, except the last rank, where a cannon ball took a man full below the abdomen, and shot his body off almost by the illion. The artillery of the King's army was better served, Major *Belford* attended it there in person, and took care to level the guns so well, that they made lanes wherever they came. The Highlanders did not like the salutation; they came down
three

three times within an hundred yards of the right wing, brandishing their swords, and firing their pistols. The troops kneeled to receive the fire, as they were directed, the first rank bending on their knee, the second stooping, and the third standing upright; the two last were to fire, but not till the enemy was within thirty yards, and the first was to receive them with their fire, and on the point of their bayonets. Lord John Drummond did all in his power to decoy the royalists to give their fire at a distance, that his wing might come in sword in hand; he even walked between the lines with his pike in his hand. The Duke of Cumberland saw into the extent of his design, and was not to be provoked into an un-soldier-like action; in short the two continued to front each other in this alarming posture, and in the mean while the right wing of the enemy and the left of the King's were closely engaged; for in a stooping posture, covering their head and breasts with their targets, the *Ashole* battalions, the regiments of *Mackintoshes* and the *Cameron's*, ran swiftly upon the cannon, making a dreadful huzza, and crying out, "Run ye dogs:" They broke in between the grenadiers of *Barrel* and *Monro*; but these had given their fire according to the general direction, and then parried them with their screwed bayonets: the two cannons on that division were so well served, that when within two yards of these, they received a full discharge of cartridge shot, which made a dreadful havoc; and those who crowded into the opening, received a full fire from the centre of *Bligh's* regiment, which still increased the number of the slain: however, such as survived,

survived, possessed themselves of the cannon, and attacked the regiments sword in hand; but to their astonishment, they found an obstinate resistance. His Highness being on the right, saw them the moment they moved to break in, and ordered the regiments of *Wolfe* and *Fleming* to wheel to the left of *Barrell*, and attack them in flank, while those of *Bligh* and *Semple*, brought up by General *Huske*, poured in their shot upon the front of them. The enemy could not stand such uncommon efforts, planned in the most judicious manner, and executed with all the intrepidity imaginable. The Pretender saw the *Athole* battalions advance, and sent one of his aids-de-camp, Colonel *Macclaughlan* of *Inchconnell*, with orders to the left wing to wheel to the right, and support the impression that might be made, while the second line was to move forward to supply their room. The orders were not delivered, for *Macclaughlan's* head was struck off by a cannon ball as he was galloping with them; so that the left retained its former posture. The Duke saw it, and observing through a glass what was doing on the left, he cried out, "They run! They run! rise up, *Pulteney's*, and shoulder." His words were heard by Lord *John Drummond*, and such as were near him; they looked about and saw the catastrophe: all at once they threw down their firelocks, and began to give way: on which the right wing advanced some paces, and gave their fire in so close and so full a manner, that the ground was soon covered with the bodies of the dead and wounded, and the cannon being again loaded, these fired into the midst of the fugitives, and made a frightful carnage.

nage. In the mean time the dragoons, and *Argyle-shire* Highlanders, under the Generals *Hawley* and *Bland*, began to break down a dyke to the right of the enemy, who were now flying off in the greatest confusion ; and as, at their coming on, they received a salvo from two pieces of cannon, so at their going off they had a like salutation from two more that were brought up to bear upon them. The dragoons rode in among the fugitives, and hacked them terribly with their broad swords ; some had their brains beat out by the horses, so that only a few of that wing escaped to the other side of the *Nairn*, where it was not practicable to pursue them. There was business for the dragoons, and *Kingston's* horse in another quarter ; they had already met together in the very centre of the ground where the rebels had stood, and from thence they separated into small parties, in pursuit of the unhappy people now flying for their lives. Many of these advanced five miles into the country before they returned ; such as took the road to *Inverness* were more fortunate than those who fled between that water and the *Nairn*, and yet many of these were killed and wounded : in a word, the rout was total, the victory complete. About fifteen hundred was killed upon the spot, and as many in the pursuit ; among whom the Viscount of *Stathallan*, Colonel *Maccloughlan*, with his Major, and most part of their officers, and most of their private men ; Colonel *Macgillivray*, and Major *Macbean* of the regiment of *Macintoshes*, with all their officers, and most of their private men ; Colonel *Maclean* of *Drimnin*, with his Major, almost all his officers, and his two sons.

About one thousand were wounded; among whom was *Macdonald of Keppoch*, who died some days after, with *Cameron of Lochiel*, and almost all their officers; young *Frazer of Inverlachy*, a Lieutenant Colonel; *Hugh Frazer*, Lord *Lovat's* Secretary, with many others. Brigadier *Stapleton* died of his wounds some few days after.

The young Pretender, having seen the flight of his men, ordered a house, behind which he stood, to be set on fire; and, by means of the smoke, he crossed the *Nairn*; whither *Perth*, Lords *Ogilvy*, and *Pitligo*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, Lord *George Murray*, with *John* and *Lewis Drummond*, repaired, with a considerable number of such as had escaped. They had all swords, but few or none of them retained their firelocks: many of them were wounded, and their ears were dinned with the noise of the soldiers, who were tossing up their hats in the air, and calling out, "Come down ye dogs, and we will cut you in pieces." They seemed to be much discouraged, and the Pretender himself was not the last to complain. "Down the shipping," says he, "there's now no more to be done." And so parting from his followers, he, with some few horse, repaired to the house of *Frazer of Cortuleg* in *Stratherrick*, where Lord *Lovat* lodged. He was received by his aged partizan with open arms: and his Lordship excused his attendance, on account of his infirmities and years. After this he went to bed, and next morning set out for *Glengary*, where he resided for some time; but daily heard of the surrender of his troops, and the hardships that befel them.

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Several officers of note were made prisoners: among whom the Earl of *Kilmarnock*; who, taking a party of dragoons for *Fitzjames's* horse, separated from the few that were with him, and came up to them. He was too near before he had discerned his mistake; so that his return was impracticable: Lord *Ancram* knew him, and saved his life, or otherwise he would have been cut down. Their artillery, tents, and baggage were seized. Sir *John Wedderburn*, Colonel *Farguharson*, Major *Stuart*, Five Captains, three Ensigns, and six inferior officers, such as surgeons and engineers, with nine hundred private men were taken also. And all this with very little loss; there being only fifty killed, and one hundred and twenty wounded. Of the first was Captain Lord *Robert Ker*, of *Barrel's* regiment, and son to the Marquis of *Lothian*: his head was cut, by Major *Macbean*, from the crown thereof to the collar bone, and afterwards he was backed in pieces: Captain *Campbell*, of Lord *Loudon's* regiment, Captain *Campbell* of the militia, and Captain *Groffet* of *Price's* battalion: of the second was Lieutenant Colonel *Rich*, whose right hand was cut off by the wrist, and left almost cut through above the fingers; he had likewise a deep wound in the elbow: one Captain, one Lieutenant, and two Ensigns of *Barrel's* were wounded also; one Captain of *Price's*, one Lieutenant of *Bligh's*, one Captain, two Lieutenants, and two Ensigns of *Monro's*, one Captain of *Ligonier's*, and one Captain of *Batterau's*. The Cavalry suffered but little, having only received some random shot from the more obstinate, who at times turned about upon them: *Kingston's* horse had but
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two killed and one wounded. *Howard's*, *Cholmondeley's*, and *Batterau's* lost but two or three, and *Pulteney's* none. *Bligh's* sustained some small loss by firing pistols, and from some of those who ran in among them; *Semple's*, who relieved *Barrel's*, had a small damage also.

In the mean time the Duke was improving his victory: he rode along the lines, and in a very princely manner heartily thanked them for their good behaviour, which he promised to represent to the King. This done, he ordered each man a glass of brandy and a biscuit, and, after receiving the compliments of the nobility, &c. upon his success, he pursued his way to *Inverness* at the head of his troops. They advanced huzzaing, and were answered by three rounds of the great guns from the ships in the road, who announced to the people on the opposite shore an account of the event.

His Highness entered *Inverness* at the head of the dragoons, all bespattered with dirt, covered with dust, and with sweat, and his sword in his hand. The bells were set a ringing, and the people gave the signal to huzza; but he moved his hand to give over, and, calling for the keys of the prison, ordered the doors to be set open, and the prisoners to be brought forth; liberty was the first fruit of his conquest; and, as the confined men came down stairs, he clapped them upon the shoulder, saying, "Brother soldiers, you are free;" ordered an entertainment for them, and payment of all their arrears. About four o'clock, the whole army came in; they advanced huzzaing, and seemed to be prodigiously pleased; and what
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tended to heighten their satisfaction was, that from the time of his entering *Inverness*, prisoners were either brought to him in troops, or else submitted themselves. Scarce was he two hours in town, when six *French* officers, who had not been in the battle, wrote a letter to General *Bland*, surrendering themselves prisoners of war.

Such was the battle of *Culloden*, which the enemies of the Government have so cruelly represented to the shame and reproach of the illustrious Leader, who, under God was the chief instrument of the victory.

However, the sinisterous representations against his Royal Highness arose from the frequent executions that followed the decisive action. Among the number of prisoners were many who had deserted the King's service; *Roy Stuart's* regiment was formed mostly of these, after the battle of *Preston-pans*: and if listing with the Pretender was a fault, certainly many of these were culpable. Three-fourths of Lord *Elcho's* regiments, of *Perth's* battalion, and of *Kilmarnock's* corps were from these deserters. *Roy Stuart*, who had the Pretender's cause more at heart than any other, came to Saint *Ann's* yards, behind *Holyrood-house*, and while a prodigious number of people were walking for curiosity, he spoke to about fourteen of *Hamilton's* dragoons, and of Major *Bowles* troop, as they were desirous to enlist in his regiment. "Gentlemen," said *Roy*, "you certainly know the business we are upon; there is no force or compulsion upon you; pray lay your hands to your heart. If you join us you shall be well paid; but if you endeavour to deceive us, you can expect no mercy if ever you should

"should fall into our hands." They insisted to be received, and he insisted on their digesting the matter before they were sworn. At the very time when *Roy* was dealing thus with them, a serjeant gave out that he was sick, and desired to be excused—*Roy* was so far from being angry, that he ordered him to be taken care of with the other prisoners; he retired, but took notes of all that had passed. These very men were taken in arms with the rebels; and the serjeant, being with the Royal army, swore in these terms before the court-martial. Indeed the fact could have been proved by many witnesses; but the serjeant's testimony hanged them all. They were executed on the common gallows, where two deserters from the Pretender had been hanged some few days before. They were all hung up in one morning, and the executioner stripping them naked, they were suffered to continue exposed for three days. Others were served in the same manner; among whom one *Niman Dunbar*, who had deserted from the regiment of guards: and, as he was a native of the adjacent county, the thing made the greater noise. What pity that the minutes of the court-martial had not been published: in that event the conduct of the generals would not have been so much blamed, and that of his Royal Highness would have shone with lustre, *Hawley* was indeed enraged at the unhappy prisoners: five of whom had taken sanctuary at a place called *Petty*, about a mile from the field of battle. The evidence for the crown, that had taken away the lives of the first fourteen, likewise destroyed these five. *Hawley* ordered twelve dragoons to put them to death in the place where they were:
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these came at the time when *Shaw* the minister, was just going to see them: they were taken out, set against a wall, and shot to death without further ceremony.

When his Highness came to hear of these frequent executions, he interposed his authority, and commanded that a report should be made to him before executing the sentence: among others, one *Gordon*, who had been a foldier in the third regiment of guards, was brought to his trial, as being an officer in the rebel army. The Duke himself spoke to him; and when his Highness was told that he (*Gordon*) had been ill used by his superior officers—that three times another person was made a serjeant when the place properly belonged to him—the excuse was admitted, and the man was received back to his own regiment. The clergymen both in *Stratherrick* and in the *Aird*, possessed by the *Frazers*, nine hundred of whom were in arms against the government, declared that in obedience to the command of his Highness, they intimated from their pulpits, that all persons should be pardoned upon surrendering themselves to them; that the people gladly came in, had certificates of their surrender given them, and these were always sustained. In these districts not one house was burnt, except *Castle Downie*, the seat of the family of *Lovat*. The same account given by the clergy of *Abertarff*; in which there was scarce a house burnt, except that of *Glengary* itself; which indeed was a pity, at it was a handsome building, and beautifully situated upon the side of a lake, out of which both salmon and trout might have been caught from any of the windows by a line. In *Lochaber* the house of *Achnacarriz*, belong-

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ing to *Lochiel*, and that of *Keppoch Macdonald* were also set in flames; but all more by the militia than by the regular forces.

It is a very disagreeable task to balance an account of burning's and plundering's between the Pretender's party and the regular troops; and yet we have in some measure drawn it out. The former was debtor to the burning of the village of *Lismahagoe*, the beautiful and stately fabric of *St. Ninian's* church, the village of *Inverlochy*, and the houses in *Sutherland* before-mentioned: they likewise had been debtor, to burning the house of *Balmagown*, the place which gave title to the illustrious Lieutenant-general *Charles Ross*, had not *Lochiel* ordered the fuel which was piled up to set it on fire, to be carried off, just at the time when it was about to be kindled up.

His Highness, on the fourth day following *Culloden* battle, had the curiosity to dress himself like an ordinary officer, and to walk toward the *Castle hill*. When just past this place, he observed a man quite pensive and solitary, and, making towards him, began to converse about the state of the town before the arrival of the army. The man told him, that he was a native of the place; that "his house was below
"yonder hill, (pointing to it), that he had the honour
"to bear the King's commission, as you, my dear
"young man, do: I was gunner of that castle which
"lies in rubbish, and which was once an ornament to
"these parts; the force to reduce it was nothing at
"all; the officers in the garrison proposed to rally
"out upon the besiegers, and both Lieutenant *Graham*
"and I laid down a method to undermine them, if
"they

"they proceeded to a sap. All was in vain : the Governor was against every thing ; his brother vassals (the *Grants*) had embraced a neutrality with the enemy ; he got very good terms for himself, but the rest of the garrison, and I among others, have been stripped of our all." The dialogue continued for two hours ; the young officer and the reduced gunner seemed to like each other extremely well : at last, a Lieutenant passing by, and knowing the officer, he came to him hat in hand, and began his business with, "May it please your Royal Highness." The reduced gunner was struck with the expression, and coming forward almost trembling, he in the most submissive posture begged pardon for not having treated his Highness as his dignity deserved. "No, no !" replied his Highness, "my little old man, you have treated me extremely well ; from this time you shall be put on your usual pay, and in the mean while I desire you will go to the Secretary's office, and tell them from me, that you must have immediate payment of all your arrears." On which the two separated, his Highness repairing to his lodging, and Mr. *Thomson*, the gunner, from whom I had the information, to the Secretary's office, as directed.

That very night the Duke remonstrated with *Hawley* upon the impropriety of putting so many of the deserters to death, and in the most sympathizing manner insinuated that men were not made to starve : "You may," continued he, "try an officer for surrendering up a fort, when under no necessity to do it : but let not the blood of the poor be spilt profusely. His instructions were followed: *Grant* was

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arraigned before a court martial, when the evidence was so strong and full against him, that nothing but the interposition of his Highness could have mitigated the sentence, to declare him unworthy of his Majesty's service ever after.

It was in consequence of the conversation with Mr. *Thomson*, that his Highness performed an act sufficient to endear him to posterity; and though it turned out to the detriment of *Inverness*, yet it became a singular advantage to the country.

From the earliest period in the records of *Scotland*, we find that a castle was always looked upon as absolutely necessary at *Inverness*, and accordingly it continued upon one spot till the time of *Oliver Cromwell*, who blew up that fortification, and built another nearer the harbour, still holding it as a maxim, that a fort must infallibly be there. At the restoration, *Cromwell's* fort was razed to the ground, the old one was rebuilt, and continued to be augmented with many out-works and conveniencies at a vast expence to the government, till the 18th of March 1746, Major *Grant* surrendered it into the hands of the young Chevalier, who ordered the works to be blown up.

The Duke of *Cumberland* saw what had been hid for ages; he expressed his surprise that a fort should be built upon a spot commanding no pass or navigable river, and in all respects void of the advantages that ought to constitute a fortification. He preferred the place which *Oliver* had fixed upon: however the magistrates would not dispose of this small parcel of ground (scarcely two square acres) for less than 25,000*l*.

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His Highness rode out with his engineers, and took a view of the coast; and getting the better of the false maxim, that a fort was absolutely necessary at *Inverness*, he judged, and very truly, that if a fort was built near it, the same might be more for the King's service. He had not rode above eight miles, when he came to a point of land called *Arderseir*, which lies opposite to *Rosemarkney* in *Ross-shire*; between these is a gut two miles over, which begins at the great sea that spreads between *Norway* and the coast of *Scotland*, and propagates itself for twelve miles without making a safe or commodious harbour, except at *Arderseir*, where the inlet begins. The proprietor of this place, Mr. *Campbell*, of *Calder*, was more docile than the magistrates of *Inverness*; he made a present to his Royal Highness of that large piece of waste ground, near the point, which scarcely yielded pasture for a few sheep in the summer season. All of a sudden five hundred men were set to work: architects, masons, smiths, joiners, and labourers were employed: and while the former were building the fortress, which owed its birth to his Royal Highness, who examined the plan thereof, the latter were occupied in cutting a canal from the sea to the gut quite round it; so that the fortress, which is a pentagon regularly flanked and strengthened by all kind of out-works, is a perfect island, defended by a deep wet ditch toward the country, and on the wings and front by the sea, which last constitutes a harbour, where the largest ships in the world may lie with safety.

Without the ditch, a large and populous village is built, and many considerable merchants have settled in
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in it for the conveniency of trade and commerce. A road has been cut from *Perth* to the fort, which is full thirty miles nearer than that known by the name of General *Wade's* road to *Inverness*; the whole country is enriched by it; the barracks can contain six thousand men, and in its present situation, is as capable of holding out a siege as any one fortress in Europe.

What man alive could have thought about twenty years before, that the solitary place *Arderfeir* would have put on so gay and so brilliant an aspect? Had a genius told the people in that neighbourhood of the wonderful change, they would like *Æneas* in *Elysium*, have been transported with the prospect of what was to come; they would have been overjoyed to think that a beautiful structure, nay, a town to be called for their Sovereign, should rear its head at a place which had not so much as a name.

He did not spend his time in exercising severities for what was past; his aim was to confute the false calumnies and invectives raised against the crown, person and dignity of his royal father, by a moderation and lenity not to be found in antient times, and scarce to be believed in times to come. The clergymen in those parts have asserted, that no sooner was a certificate produced from any of them, of a man's having surrendered himself, than he was at full liberty to carry in all manner of provision to the camp, and was paid in ready money for every single article: for desiring safety, not revenge, he took nothing from his enemies, except the power of hurting; and even when these came to deliver up their arms, he accepted
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their submission with an air of sympathy, which discovered rather a concern for their misfortune, than a triumph for their misery; he received Lord *Lewis Drummond*, the *French* ambassador, and forty nine other foreign officers, with great affability: He gave passports to the Pretender's servants, these being all *French*, and sent off the *French* prisoners, to the number of one hundred and ten, to be exchanged for an equal number of the *British* forces: he did not assume the power of trying any one of the rebels: He referred these to be tried by the laws of their country. Among others werethe Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Cromartie*, with the unfortunate Lord *Bulmerino*, whose case is too singular not to be represented.

His royal Highness having, the day after the battle of *Culladen*, issued out a proclamation for all such as had been in arms to surrender themselves to one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, or to a minister of the Church of *Scotland*, great numbers embraced the golden opportunity, and, among others, Lord *Bulmerino*. He no sooner heard of it, than he rode directly from *Aggimore*, and surrendered himself to Sir *Ludovick Grant*, at the castle of that name. Unluckily for his Lordship, the *Grants* had embraced a neutrality, and his Highness, ever a greater enemy to the cunning of the fox, than the wrath of the lion, discovered a kind of reserve towards the generality of them; for when their chieftain came into *Inverness*, attended by one hundred and seventy men of his own and of different surnames, his Royal Highness, tho' walking by the side of the river, neither went to view them himself, nor did any of his officers go. How-
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ever, *Balmerino* was received without information of his voluntary surrender; his Lordship thought, that it would be no more to his advantage to be spoken of by *Grant* than by him, so the favourable circumstance was not named; and what was still a greater infatuation, he did not so much as mention this in his defence, when he came to be tried.

It must be owned that *Grant's* conduct in other respects was preposterous; for the *Grants* of *Glenmoriston* were through his mistake led into a snare; they entered *Inverness*, and drew up in the same order as on the *Muir of Culloden*, armed cap-a-pee, to the number of three hundred: which the Duke observing, he walked up, asking "What body of men is there?" To which he was answered, "The *Grants* of *Glenmoriston*;" "To whom have they surrendered," replied his Highness? "To me," says *Grant*, "and to none in *Britain* would they have submitted, except to me." "No!" answered the Duke with a pause, "I will let them know that they are the King's subjects, and must likewise submit to me;" and with these words he ordered a regiment to surround and disarm them: they were directly embarked on board the transports, and were next day shipped off for *Tilbury Fort*, with a clergyman of their name. It is observable, that none of these were tried for their lives; some of them died on ship-board, and the remainder were transported to his Majesty's colonies, where, like others who had been involved in the calamities of their country, they settled, and procured a more comfortable subsistence than if they had remained at home.

The victory at *Culloden* gave birth to an inexpressible joy through the extensive dominions of the *British* empire ; not only *Europe* and *Africa*, but the two *Indies* joined in the shout, and gave joyful acclamations. The night after the battle, Lord *Bury* was dispatched with a letter to *St. James's*, and, taking the opportunity of a ship to *North Berwick*, where he landed on the 21st, he hired horses for *London*, where he arrived in the morning of the 24th, and delivered his message to the King. The news was declared from the great guns in the *Park*, and in the *Tower* ; and these were answered by the ships in the harbour, and by volleys from the small arms of the guards, drawn up on the parade.

At night the bonfires and illuminations were general ; and on *Sunday* there was the most brilliant Court that ever appeared on any other occasion, every one taking a pride to pay their compliments. The Parliament was fitting, and both Houses congratulated their Sovereign upon the defeat of his enemies, and the heroic part which " his son, the image of his virtues, " had, in suppressing that project, upon the ruin of " which the constitution was more firmly secured ; " and, without loss of time, conferred upon his Royal Highness the yearly sum of £25,000, in augmentation of the £15,000 which he formerly enjoyed. They wrote him a congratulatory letter upon his glorious success, to which they received a very princely and obliging answer. A run of addresses, like the waves of the sea jostling out each other, crowded about the throne from every quarter ; the pulpits and theatres sounded with the praises of our Deliverer ; the streets
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rang with his eulogium ; the presses teemed with the recital of his virtues, and the news-papers were filled with applauses ; the sons of genius vied in his eulogium ; in *Scotland* his friends were so taken with him, that several children were baptized publicly in the churches by the name of *Cumberland William*, and a monument of their gratitude for the blessings they had received through his means ; and, to crown all the King wrote him an answer with his own hand, in which were these very words : “ I desire you may give my hearty thanks to the brave officers and soldiers who fought so gloriously at the late battle ; and assure them no less of my real esteem, than of my constant favour and protection.” All which was directly obeyed : He read over the letter in the midst of the soldiers, and, on ending it, he renewed his hearty acknowledgments of their services, and at departing said, “ You, gentlemen, have resisted an attack, which I believe no troops upon earth could have withstood but yourselves ; the enemy indeed fought like furies, and you, my fellow-soldiers, have behaved like so many heroes.” He never failed to acknowledge his sense of the services done, whether by societies, or by individuals : and with his own hand wrote a letter to the Church of *Scotland*, thanking them for their affection, loyalty, and zeal. His humanity went so far, that on hearing of the sorrow which the poor prisoners, who had lived for a piece of bread, daily sustained, not so much for what they were to undergo, as on account of having missed the opportunity of fighting under so glorious a commander, he ordered the regiments to be recruited from

from them ; so that of eleven hundred of these, only forty fell by the hands of the executioner : could the strict and indispensable rules of the martial law have been got over, they would all have been spared, in the same manner as the others, who had been involved with the Pretender.

Soon after this an account reached the Duke, that the most desperate among the Highlanders had got a supply of money from *France*, and that they had resolved to continue together; for on the 4th of *May* two *French* men of war had arrived off the coast of *Arisaig*, and sailed up *Loch Nuay*, not knowing the Pretender's disaster. About thirty five thousand Louis d'ors were landed from these for the use of his troops; on this a meeting was held among the chieftains, at which Lords *Lovat*, *Lochiel* and Secretary *Murray* were present: part of the money was distributed, though *Murray* retained the major part. Here it was agreed, that each chieftain should raise what men he could, and keep in a body until they could receive proper terms from his Royal Highness. Accordingly they rendezvoused at the head of *Lochargeg*, where they continued till the 29th of *May*, when the Duke's army advancing by the road, the scouts brought in such an account of their strength and alertness, as determined them to disperse, and every one to do the best he could for himself.

The Duke being come to Fort *Augustus*, he expressed some concern at seeing such vast tracts of uncultivated ground, and that the folly of those who had blown up the beautiful and commodious barracks that had so lately been an ornament to that unfortunate

nate district. From this he marched to Fort *William*: where he had not been long, when Lord *Lovat* was taken, being discovered by the very persons to whom he had given bread. His Lordship was confined on board the *Furnace*, and from thence was escorted by a party of dragoons by the way of *Edinburgh* and *Newcastle* to *London*, where he was confined to the *Tower*: so that this primum mobile of that rebellion being now in the government's power, and fifteen of the Pretender's standards, taken at *Culloden*, being burnt on the 5th of *June* by the common hangman, his Highness thought all was safe, and set out on the 20th of *July* for *London*, where he arrived in six days.

All this time the Parliament was examining into the rise of the late troubles, and on the 8th of *June* attainted of high treason, forty-six different persons: appointing them to be prosecuted, unless before the 12th of *July* they should surrender themselves, viz. *Perth*, the Earl of *Kelly*, the Viscount of *Strathallan* and his son, the Viscount of *Dundee*, Lords *Elcho*, *Nairn*, *Ogilvy*, Lord *George Murray*, *John Drummond*, and *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Lovat*; *Mercer of Aldie*, Sir *William Gordon of Park*, *John Murray of Broughton*, Secretary; *Glenbucket*, *Lochiel junior*, and his brother *Dr. Cameron*; *Camerons of Torsastle* and *Dungallan*, *Clanranald junior*, *Keppoch*, *Barisdale*, *Glencoe*, *Cluny*, *Machlauchlan*, *Mackinnon*, *Ardshiel*, *Gask senior and junior*, young *Carnwarth*, and *Airth*, *Roy Stuart*, *Farquerson of Monaltry*, *Drumnaglas*, &c. None of these suffered; they having either escaped or complied. Among the latter was Secretary

tary *Murray*, who, thinking to make a merit of bearing testimony against Lord *Lovat*, proffered his service to the Lord Justice Clerk for *Scotland*. His proposal was accepted, and he apprehended by a party of dragoons, who on the 28th of June, conducted him to *Edinburgh*, whence he was carried to *London*, and appearing in the Court of *King's Bench* in *Westminster-hall*, he pleaded, that he had dissolved the force of the bill of attainder, by surrendering to a proper officer. The Attorney-General admitted the fact, and the Court having a power by virtue of a writ of *Certiorari* to them directed from the Court of *Chancery*, they made a record of the same.

Upon the 20th of July, the judges sat at *Saint Margaret's Hill*, where Colonel *Townley*, Counsellor *Morgan*, *Andrew Blood*, and other officers of the *Manchester* regiment appeared before them. The trials of the three last were but short, and as *Townley's* defence of being in the *French* service, was unanimously over-ruled, they were all condemned to die, and on the 31st were hanged, drawn and quartered at *Kennington Common*.

Some of the principal *Scots* Gentlemen were tried there likewise, as Sir *John Wedderburn*, *Hamilton* governor of *Carlisle*, Sir *James Kenloch*, and his brother Mr. *Alexander*. The case of the two latter Gentlemen is too singular to be passed over unnoticed.

These two Gentlemen had been arraigned before the ordinary jury; but as the trial promised to be long and the court was weary, it was put off till next day, when the twelve Judges of *England* sat upon the indictment, and another jury was called, the former
being

being discharged. The Counsel for the prisoners moved against the legality of arraiging them before any other jury than that which at first was charged with them; and that by *Magna Charta* no man was to be arraigned before separate juries upon the same fact. After many arguments *pro* and *con*, the Judges gave their opinion; and Mr. *Justice Wright* differed from the whole: for his judgment was, that no other jury had a power to try the prisoners, except that before whom they were first called: so that they were tried, cast, and condemned; but it was thought prudent not to execute the sentence.

The counsel for the crown were Sir *Dudley Rider*, Mr. *Murray*, Sir *John Strange*, and Mr. *Yorke*. The witnesses were wretches guilty of the crime of rebellion. The counsel for the prisoners offered to prove some of them to be the most flagitious of mortals: but in this they were answered, by a question put by Sir *John Strange*: "Was there," said he, "a man of probity or honour in the rebellion?" To which an answer was a matter of delicacy, and so he received no reply. However, the question might have been answered with great truth, that above a thousand people of real probity and worth were in that rebellion; but that they had done mischief ignorantly, not knowing the *English* tongue even in the *Scot's* dialect.

On the 1st of September the assizes began at *Carlisle*, when three lawyers went from *Edinburgh*, to plead the cause of the prisoners; but their defence, "That accomplices could not be admitted witnesses in the case of treason, being soon over-ruled, the trials were far from being tedious; the return, *Guilty*, was made

made in a moment. The gentlemen of the jury were of the militia that had been stationed at *Carlisle* when the Pretender came there, so that neither the tenderness nor advice of the Judges could restrain their havoc. Here, of one hundred and five, thirty suffered, five were acquitted, and seventy were pardoned. Hence they went to *York*, where the jury acted with great candour and humanity : but here, as at *Carlisle*, the evidence was irresistible. Among others, came on the trial of two *Frenchmen*, whose defence was, " That, " in the nature of things, they could not be construed " traitors to his Majesty King *George*, as being foreigners, and had never sworn allegiance to him." The plea of the one was sustained : as he had come over with the Pretender's party in the heat of the rebellion ; but that of the other was repelled ; as a distinction was made, that though he owed the King of *Great Britain* no natural, yet a local allegiance was due, as the prisoner had come over under the protection of the *Dutch* General, who landed with auxiliaries in support of his Majesty ; on this he was condemned, but, on his way to the gallows, a pardon was brought him. Here, of seventy-four prisoners, thirty five were condemned, twenty-two of whom suffered by the hands of an executioner, and fifteen were suffocated in the prison, as they had set fire to the prison door, in order to escape. In short, only seventy-four were put to death by the course of common law, for rebelling against a King who had ruled eighteen years according to law.

But a greater trial than any of these was that of the Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Cromarty*, with Lord *Balmerino*, before the House of Peers, on an indictment

ment being found against them by the *Surrey* jury. The two Earls pleaded Guilty; but his Lordship denied the charge, on a false apprehension, that no jury could find a bill of indictment, unless it was composed of men in-dwellers in the county where the crime was charged to have been committed; and that the time of his guilt was not properly specified, he having been twelve miles from *Carlisle* at the time when he was charged to have been there. Both his defences were over-ruled, and the witnesses swore point blank against him. On this they were condemned to die: but before sentence was pronounced, *Kilmarnock*, with great propriety of accent, set off by the elegance of his person, which might have adorned any assembly, urged the loyalty of his ancestors their behaviour at the revolution, and since that period: he appealed to the conduct of his father in the year 1715, at which time he himself bore arms for the Government: he mentioned the behaviour of his son, who bore his Majesty's commission, and on *Culloden* field had behaved as became him: he told them, he abhorred the thoughts of being pardoned through the influence of a foreign Court; that he was far from being considerable among the rebels, and had no share in any of their barbarities; and so concluded with recommending himself to his Majesty's compassion, and their Lordship's sympathy.

The Earl of *Cromartie's* arguments flowed from his own personal distresses: he told their Lordships, that he had involved an affectionate wife, and with her an unborn infant, his eldest son and eight other innocent children

children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they knew his guilt: "Let them, my Lords, be pledges to his Majesty: let them be pledges to your Lordships, let them be pledges to my country for mercy; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears, let the powerful language of innocent nature, supply my want of eloquence and persuasion:—let my remorse for my guilt as a subject, let the sorrows of my heart as an husband, let the anguish of my mind as a father, speak the rest of my misery? Your Lordships are men, you feel as men; but may none of you ever suffer the smallest part of what I suffer." This being over, the Lord Chancellor *Hardwicke*, then Lord High Steward, before passing sentence, made a speech, in which, after pointing out the heinousness of the crime of rebellion, especially against a King famous through the world for his mild and easy government, he told them, "That the death of every person, who fell during the troubles, was a murder; that the many murders of the innocent soldiers were rather chargeable upon the chiefs as the principals, than upon their inferiors and followers, though the instrumental cause; and that the deaths of the criminals, whom justice had overtaken, were only to be ascribed to those who had involved them in the desperate cause."

As it was foreseen that intercession would be made, it was resolved in council that two of the three should die, the cries for justice being loud and piercing; the interest for the Earls was great, while that for *Balmerino* was nothing at all, which the King observing, he said: "Many apply for *Kilmarnock* and *Cromartie*, but none for

“ for *Balmerino*; I believe him to be the honestest man
 “ of the whole, and must do something for him my
 “ self;” which he certainly would have done, had he
 not laid it down as a maxim never to thwart his Privy
 Council.

The opinion without doors was, that *Kilmarnock*’s interest would have prevailed in consideration of his ancestors, and the fidelity of his son: add to this, that *Lady Charlotte Hamilton*, daughter to the Duke who was killed in *Hyde Park*, was incessant for his Lordship: the fate of the two Earls hung in equilibrio, till the diligence of the Countess of *Cromartie* turned the scale in favour of her Lord.

That Lady being then with child, went almost to all the nobility and gentry about Court, and at last to the Princess of *Wales*; and getting ready access, she fell upon her knees, begging, “ that her Highness would
 “ have mercy on her, and on her five children, (pointing to them) and intercede for her unfortunate
 “ Lord.” “ Wait there,” replied her Highness, “ and
 “ I shall soon bring you an answer;” so withdrawing a few moments, she returned with her five children, the eldest of whom (the Princess of *Brunswick*) was just turned of nine years, and setting them before her, said, “ Pray, Madam, what compassion had your Lord
 “ upon my five children and me; It is true, I am not
 “ now in your case, but then I was; and God knows
 “ what would have become of them, or of me, had your
 “ husband’s scheme taken place! however I shall intercede with his Majesty for him;” which that very night she endeavoured to do.

Not contented with this, Lady *Cremartin* went to *Kensington*, and at the time of his Majesty's going to chapel, presented a petition to him: he just took it out of her hand, when she fell backward and fainted away; which the King observing only with the last glance of his eye, he ordered her to be taken up, and with his usual sedateness said, "I shall consider her case;" which he accordingly did, and next morning signed a reprieve for ninety-nine years. This determined the fate of the other two, who suffered on the 18th of August. At going out of *Tower Gate*, and hearing the ordinary say, "God save King George," *Kilmarnock* bowed very reverently; whereas *Balmorino* taking off his hat, and waving it, cried, "God save King J——s, and all his Royal family." From the time that the Earl quitted the gate, he attracted the eyes of all the spectators, being about six foot high, clothed in black, with a bag appended to his hair, and walking in the most decent, serious, and majestic manner; he was attended by Mr. *Foster*, a dissenting Clergyman, a gentleman of real goodness of heart, and endowed with the most extensive good-will to mankind: he had been at great pains both to bring his Lordship to a sense of his sin, and to be reconciled to the change he was to undergo. Happening to be in the *Tower* when the warrant came for execution, he contrived to let his Lordship know it in a manner the least likely to create a surprize: he introduced a discourse with General *Williamson* concerning death, which continuing some minutes, his Lordship said, "Is the death warrant arrived?" Being answered in the affirmative, Mr. *Foster* very properly replied,

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"We are all under sentence of death;" and entering upon a serious conversation, his Lordship became quite calm and serene.

Never did two unfortunate noblemen go to a block more different from each other than *Balmerino* and *Kilmarnock*, as will appear by the following little incident: the former desired to speak with the latter, which was granted; and then his Lordship asked, if he knew any thing of an order given by the P—— on the morning of the battle of *Culloden*, "to give no quarter to the Elector's troops on any account whatsoever." To this *Kilmarnock* replied, "that he had heard of such an order since that time, but as to himself he knew nothing of it." From this the former inferred, that no such order ever had existed; and the latter reasoned that the conclusion was not fair, "since such an order might have been given, though unknown to me." "It is," said *Balmerino*, "only an invention to palliate their own murders." Whether such an order existed by itself is a question; the Royalists roundly assert it; and I think it is substantially to be found in the Pretender's manifestoes; and it is known that many in the Pretender's army declared, that the soldiers should not meet with such kind treatment as hitherto they had done.

When *Kilmarnock* appeared on the scaffold, he drew sighs from every heart, and tears from every eye; the executioner himself, though he had on him part of the cloaths in which Colonel *Townley* had suffered, shed tears, and fainted away, till revived by artificial spirits, when his Lordship spoke to him, and gave him five guineas; after which he submitted to his fate, and the executioner

executioner severed his head from his body at one stroke.

Next came *Balmerino*, who hitherto was so obscure, that on mounting the scaffold the croud was at a loss to know the criminal, till he began to prepare for the block: perhaps his chagrin arose from the faint impression which his voluntary surrender had made upon the government: he did not consider that the same was not properly known. But be that as it will, his deportment startled the executioner, to whom he gave three guineas; so on taking the ax out of his hand, and thumbing it, he walked round a part of the stage moving it up and down in his hand so that the very men attending the Sheriff became affrighted, and reproached *Jack Ketch* for his simplicity; however no bad consequence ensued, the ax was restored, when the terrified fellow did his business but poorly, not finishing it with less than three blows.

The next sufferer was *Mr. Charles Ratcliff*, who by a warrant from the King's Bench, was beheaded on *Little-Tower-Hill*, for a treason committed about thirty years before: he had behaved insolently to the Court, pleading his peerage, and the privilege of being a subject to the *French King*; for snatching the hand of one of the jury as these sat upon the identity of his person, he said, "Here is the hand of a man amongst the lowest class of mechanics; Is this a proper person for *Mr. Lee* for trying a peer?" But upon the scaffold, December the 9th, his deportment was every way composed and serene, and he died a Roman Catholic.

But

But the greatest trial of all was that of *Simon Lord Lovat*, whose two Secretaries, with three others of the name of *Frazer*, and *John Murray* of *Broughton* appeared against him. One *Chevis* deposed, " That his general discourse for many years had been in favour of the Pretender's person and interest, that he had cursed the reformation for introducing a false religion, and the Revolution for involving Great-Britain in an immense load of debt; that he drank confusion to the Royal family under the masked expression of, *The white horse and all the generation of them*; that his Lordship and *Roy Stuart* had diverted themselves with poetical compositions in *Erse*, of which they tried a translation sufficiently expressive of a real wickedness of heart." *Murray* had given up his letter to the Pretender, another to *Lochiel*, a third to himself, a fourth to the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, and two to his own son the Master of *Lovat*. *Robert Frazer* swore to his writing these letters, and that they had been dictated word for word by his Lordship, produced duplicates of such as had been worn or effaced, and gave in two letters received from the Master, one from the Pretender, with one signed by *Lochiel*, *Clany*, and *Murray*, earnestly praying he would throw off the mask, and join openly; and at last Sir *Everard Falkener* swore to a letter received by his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*. From these it appeared clearly that he had been the life and soul of the Pretender's cause for many years, the chief promoter of that rebellion so lately suppressed; and that he had sent out his Son with nine hundred *Frazers* into it. The speech of Sir *William Young* at opening

opening the indictment is among the most nervous to be met with upon this or any other occasion : " When " I look to the prisoner at the bar, I am moved with " pity for his infirmities and years :—but, my Lords, " had his scheme succeeded, such of your Lordships " as had escaped with your lives, when fighting for " your religion and liberties, would have been : ar- " raigned at that very bar before a body of mock " peers, who would have rejoiced in your sufferings ! " It is imagined, that if the Pretender had prevailed, *Lovat* would have been tried for high treason.

On finding him guilty, the Lord High Steward, before passing sentence, made a speech, in which he said, that it had been happy for his Lordship, if the terrors of the law retained him in his allegiance, when his oaths and his engagements were too weak ties to bind him : he observed that the foreign enemies of *Great Britain* were not so forward to invade her, as her own degenerate and unnatural sons ; that whether this backwardness proceeded from the little dependance to be had on so false a set of men, or from the great improbability that a general infatuation should all at once seize the people of *Great Britain*, so as to make them renounce their allegiance to a protestant King, who reigned with justice and with mercy, and declare for a popish Pretender, long since abjured by the most solemn oaths ; in either case, continued he, *France* was in the right ; for what faith could be put in so detestable a croud of parricides ? After mentioning his being a Roman Catholic in private, and a Protestant by his oaths to the government, he proceeded to lament the situation of the people in the remote

remote parts of *Scotland*, who, in consequence of an abject subjection to their chiefs and superiors, must be compelled to take up arms, and be forced to rebel against their lawful Sovereign, Now, said he, we know the disease, and can better apply a remedy; and having remarked that the Protestant Succession was not an empty name, but something real and essential, he concludes with these words: "Your Lordship has led a life of craft, dissimulation, and perfidy; but the sentence which I am to inflict upon you, will soon send you to a tribunal, where no disguise nor artifice can avail you."

April the 9th he was led to the scaffold, and behaved in the same manner as at *Kirkhill*, or at *Beaufort*, speaking in *English*, in *Latin*, and in *French* by turns: he told the sheriff that he was glad he had fallen into such good hands, and that he must obey him even in *articulo mortis*. He then repeated these admirable words of *Ulysses* out of *Ovid*; lines which he had pronounced on many occasions.

*Nam genus et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi
Vix ea nostra voca!*

*The deeds of long-descended ancestors
Are but by grace of imputation ours,
Theirs in effect!*

Whether he meant this of the Pretender, or of his own son, is not determined, nor have we any thing to guide our conjecture, except the next elegant phrase out of *Horace*:

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori—

*'Tis a becoming and a pleasant thing for a man to
die for his country*

So, giving ten guineas to the executioner, he desired him to do his business well, and added, smiling, "if you mangle me, and I lift up my head, I shall be very angry." This being over, he was led to the block by two yeomen of the Tower, and as he walked along, said, *Je meurs un fils indigne de l'Eglise Romaine*. His head, notwithstanding the shortness of his neck, was, by one full, well-aimed, and strenuous blow, severed from his body. Soon after this, an act of indemnity passed, in which were but few exceptions.

The hardships of others concerned in the rebellion were great; *Strath-Spey* was the place to which *Roy Stewart*, and some of the most guilty resorted. Sir *William Gordon of Park*, and others, retired into *Sutherland*, from whence many of them fled over to the *Orkneys* and *Shetland*, and from thence into *Norway* and *Sweden*. Their native country was the least asylum to the fugitives; and the northern counties of *England* yielded no refuge; and in *Scotland* the informations were continual. Their only sanctuary was *London*, and thither did crowds of them repair. Whatever were the sufferings of others, the Pretender himself underwent little more than what might have been expected. It is surprising that a young man of any degree of sagacity could not foresee that *London* would be his only sanctuary. It has been said, he was in that metropolis in the year 1751, and it is generally believed that he was in *Westminster-hall* on the 22d of September, and saw the coronation dinner about ten years afterwards. One thing is certain, he shifted and roamed through the Highlands, and islands, for five months; during which time he was almost in continual alarms.

From

From *Gortuleg*, where he had slept the night after the battle, he, on the next day, retired to *Glengary house*; and from thence rode to *Ruthven of Badenoch*, where Lord *George Murray* had discharged his followers, and bid every man shift for himself. The inhabitants there had been of his party, but were not at the battle; and these entertained him for five days in the remotest parts of the district. After this time there was no great encouragement to stay there; as the *Macpherson's* had, in obedience to the proclamations of his Royal Highness, surrendered to *Blair*, the clergyman of *Kinguiffie*: he thought it more safe to retire into the country of the *Camerons*, as nearer the sea, in case he should be too closely pursued. Accordingly he repaired to *Achnacarrie*, where *Lochiel* was lying ill of the wound he had received; and here continued, till the time the *Argyleshire* Highlanders marched into *Lochaber*. *Lochiel*, being a man of spirit, urged him to do something for retrieving his affairs; but to no purpose: he had been greatly chagrined at his disaster, and declined appearing any longer in arms. From this he retired farther toward the sea, and put up in the house of *Macdonald of Kingborough*, where a party of *Kingston's* horse had almost surprised him. Some of these asserted, that they frequently had a sight of him at a distance, such as on an opposite side of a morass, a lake, or some such security. Enraged at this disappointment, they seized upon *Macdonald*, as he had conducted him out of the house by a secret passage, even at the time when they were rummaging the several rooms of the dwelling in quest of him.

How

How unfortunate was the fugitive, to be absent when the *French* ships landed the money on the 4th ! These carried off *Perth*, Lord *Elcho*, Lord *John Drummond*, and many other officers. From *Kingsborough* he went to the dwelling of Colonel *Macdonald* of *Barisdale*, who seemed at first not to shew the same regard as hitherto: however, in a short time he became more obsequious than ever, and began to lay down a variety of schemes, either for supporting him by force, or for extricating him by a timely escape out of all his hardships: but in this he was acting deceitfully; for he had already been with *Hawley* and had agreed to get the Stranger delivered into the hands of the Government; but in such a manner as to reflect no dishonour upon himself. The fugitive and his guardian *S. Tho. Sheridan*, who was still with him, began to harbour some suspicion of the man, which increased the more, as he went out one morning, as he said, to kill a deer; but in reality to inform the garrison at *Fort Augustus*, that the Pretender was safe at his house. A party set out the moment they received the information, and certainly would have seized him, had not he and *Sheridan* beheld them from an eminence, advancing to the house where they had been lodged. On this they hastened towards the head of *Loch Sornard*, almost opposite to *Fort William*, where a servant of *Cameron* of *Callard* procured them a boat, which carried them down by the back of *Lismore*, and doubling the point of *Morvern*, sailed with them pretty far through the *Sound of Mull*. As it was night they put in at *Cambusnagual*; where, meeting with an hearty country

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gentleman,

gentleman, and a devotee of the church of *Rome*, they were properly refreshed; and, as the gentleman could not prevail upon them to stay with him, or divert themselves about *Mingry-castle*, by hunting in the woods, they at night crossed the *Sound* to *Morenish*, hoping they might find a vessel to convey them out of the *British* dominions; but in this they were disappointed: And yet his forlorn condition could not hinder *Sheridan* from looking narrowly into the natural advantages of the Harbour of *Tobermorry*, which has so much attracted the speculation of the curious.

Tobermorry Harbour, in the *Isle of Mull* (a part of the Duke of *Argyle's* estate) is perhaps one of the finest and most commodious in *Europe*. It lies within seven miles of the *Western Ocean*; is sheltered by the high grounds of *Morenish*, which almost form a very large segment of a circle about it, and the deficiency of the curve is supplied by a small island called *Calva* (belonging to the same Nobleman) about which the sea ebbs and flows. The water to within two yards of the shore is a depth sufficient for ships of burthen to ride in safety.

Whatever asylum *Tobermorry* might have given the Pretender in the year 1688, it was a very improper place for him now; and therefore he retired directly to *Mackinnon's* house at *Muesnish*, hoping that as the lady was sister to *Clanranald*, she might in some measure contribute to his escape: but here he was mistaken, for neither the gentleman nor his spouse were at home: so resolving to lose no time, he hastened to the boat, and passing by *Macleod's Nose*, an high promontory,

montory, he sailed out into the ocean, and in a few hours landed at *Eagg*; the proprietor of which, Mr. *Maclean*, entertained him hospitably. Here he might have continued some days, but afraid of a discovery, he sailed over to *Canna*, a small island belonging to *Clanranald*; and which, from its situation, had a very extensive prospect; so that no ship could come from any part of the compass without being descried at a considerable distance.

After staying here about ten days, he crossed over to *South-Uist*, where he was received by the Lady *Clanranald* and her daughters, who seemed to discover a sympathy toward him, though the inhabitants were desirous he should be gone, as they were apprehensive of a visit from some of the King's ships, as had happened both at the Revolution, and in the year 1716, and even at this very time: he had not stayed here above eight days, when he went over to *Barra*, an island laying at the foot of *South-Uist*, and separated from it by an eddy: he was advised to go over to *Ireland* with Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, who assured him of his knowing the country well, and laid down the most probable means of escaping into *France* from some port of that kingdom.

The arguments of *Sheridan* could not prevail with him to pass over into *Ireland*, where the Parliament had set 50,000*l.* upon his head. The Earl of *Chesterfield* was that year Lord Lieutenant, and he had by a mild and popular administration secured the people so firmly to the Government, that both Roman Catholics and Protestants seemed to be reconciled; and the

the ports were so narrowly watched, that there was no landing there. The Chevalier knew this, and his imagination figured the danger to be more than it really was ; so that he and *Sheridan* parted with mutual embraces, the latter giving a full and absolute promise, that as soon as possible a ship should be sent to carry him over ; and commending him to his good fortune, the one put to sea, and the other returned to *Clanranald's* house.

It was now the beginning of June : daily accounts were arriving of the surrender of those concerned with him ; the King's ships were upon the coast, but did not land ; they only contented themselves with throwing some few balls among the houses and sheep-folds, but at too great a distance to do any great mischief.

It does not appear from the *History of Scotland*, that ever a body of men entered *South Uist* in an hostile manner since the time when the *Danes* forded it over the *Hebrides*, anno 1050, till this very period. His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* was the person to propose it, and General *Campbell* the officer to undertake the execution of the plan which his Royal Highness had laid down. The *Argyleshire* militia had marched through *Lewis*, *Harris*, and *North Uist*, and were upon the frontiers of *South Uist*, before the unhappy fugitive had an account of their being near him. Fortunately for him, one Miss *Flora Macdonald*, daughter to Capt. *Hugh Macdonald*, who had been an officer in the *French* service, undertook to carry him through the midst of those who were in search of him : he put off his own cloaths, and assumed the low dress

dress of a menial servant running at the horse foot. Upon coming to the small eddy that separates *North* and *South Uist*, the servant became more affrighted for fear they should accost him in *Erse*, a language which he did not understand: they did indeed speak to him in that tongue, but Miss *Flora* told them that he was a servant from the Low country; she conversed with them, took the matter upon herself, and was actually believed. He continued in Miss *Flora's* service for twenty days, when a discovery being made that the servant was the Pretender himself, the search became more violent: and Miss *Flora* falling into their hands just about four hours after she had parted from him, and left him with a friend, she made a full discovery of all that she knew about him, and directed to the very place where he was. Fortunately for him one of the servants came in and told, that a party of the *Argyleshire* militia was advancing: this filled him with the most dismal apprehensions: there was no remedy but to put on women's clothes: and in this dress he passed for a cousin to the landlady of the house, and even witnessed the search that was making for him: There was not the least observation made upon the Mistress's cousin, further than she was very tall. Miss continued in her clothes for four hours; but upon the party going away in quest of their prey, the Pretender assumed his former habit, and going on, he took a private road by himself, without trusting any person; for two days he wandered in this way, and on the morning came to a fisherman, who had some fish; the stranger was hungry and being
near

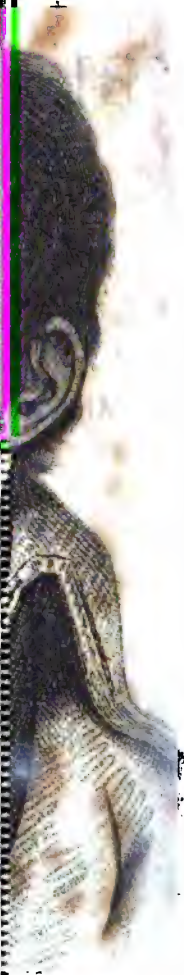
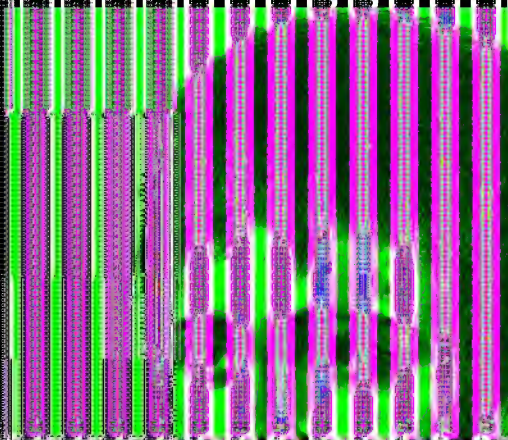
near one who knew him, he was entertained with some broiled fish, and such bread as is used in these parts. On going away he offered a *Louis d'or*; but the people told him, that the search for him was brisk, and if any money was found upon them it might raise a suspicion; and so he departed. For fourteen days he continued in this forlorn state, the militia seeking for him on all sides, and frequently coming to the very place which he had just quitted. Mr. Campbell, who was sent to take up the arms of both the enemies and friends of the government, relates, that he had frequently been upon the opposite side of the hill from him, and at other times in a small boat just off the shore where the militia were marching.

As the search became every day hotter, in consequence of the information given by Miss Macdonald when under examination, he retired over to the *Isle of Sky*, hoping both to find friends there and that the search would be somewhat abated. He generally set off in the night time and continued either at sea through the day, or else upon the top of some mountain, whence he could have a view of the adjacent country. While in *Sky* he one day accidentally met with a man, whose name was Neil Mackinnon, and he carried him to the house of one of his relations, where he was properly refreshed but did not discover who he was. The common people of that island are among the most courteous to strangers of any in the kingdom; the destitute fugitive observing him to be very ready to oblige him, he informed him who he was: the man was struck with the matter

matter, and therefore conducted him to the house of Captain *Mackimmon*, to whom he was personally known: that very night some strangers came to the house, which raised the more circumspection. The Captain informed a younger brother of the matter, and it was concluded that he should be put to bed, and a woman's clothes to be laid over his upon the chair that stood near; and this was the second time he ever had recourse to the expediency of a woman's habit. After passing ten days in *Sky*, he went over to *Raarsa*, where he continued tolerably safe, and shifting his abode, crossed to the continent of *Kintail*, where one day he went into a house to have some refreshment, but the landlord, named *Macra*, declared he would entertain none, except such as he knew. This being the case, the fugitive strolled over the Highlands of *Rossshire*, came down by the district of *Strathglass*, and from thence into *Lochaber*, where the search had entirely abated, and here he continued by the sea-side, but never above one night in an house, till the 12th of September, when a ship from *Boulogne* entered the bay of *Barisdale*, and the Captain having a letter from Mr. *Butler*, an *Irish* gentleman, and a merchant at *Boulogne*, he was prevailed on to come to an appointed place, and to have an interview with the Captain, who delivered him another letter from Sir *Thomas Sheridan*; by which, and other circumstances, being convinced of the integrity and uprightness of the man, he went on board, and coasting by the back of *Ireland*, the vessel sailed towards *Brest* in *Picardy*; but being met by one of his Majesty's men of war, the
ship

ship was obliged to crowd sail, and make all possible haste to *Morlaix*, where he landed to the astonishment of all who saw him, as he brought nothing but the shattered remains of his constitution, to point out his own ambition and rashness, and to shew the power of our King's son, whose name had already been a terror to the armies and councils of *France*.





PARTE

THE
LIFE
OF
BUONAPARTE,

FROM HIS
BIRTH TO THE PRESENT TIME,

Including

An Account of his different
CAMPAIGNS, REMARKABLE ACTIONS,
&c. &c.

To which is added, as

AN APPENDIX,

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE BRITISH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

He fights for Power, for Plunder, and extended Rule—
We for our Country, our Altars, and our Homes.

R. B. SHERIDAN.

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PREFACE.

TO raise the merits of the worthy, and to exhibit in true colours the practices of the vicious; is the duty of the historian. It is therefore the purpose of the author of the following pages to pourtray the character of Buonaparte, not only as the haughty and imperious conqueror, decked in his gaudy appendages, but as the man who boasts of his respect and regard for the principles of honour and humanity; what claim he has to the latter, the perusal of the following pages will plainly evince. It is a pleasing task to crown the deserving with honour, and to pay to the friend of mankind, that tribute of gratitude and respect, his virtues demand; but unhappily the author of this memoir, has not the pleasing sensations arising from the contemplation of great and virtuous actions. It falls to his lot to trace through the vicissitudes of fortune, a man who has blackened the page of history with the commission of every known crime, who like Proteus, has changed his
shape

PREFACE.

shape with every varying circumstance—who murders while he smiles.—This Colossus whose inordinate ambition seems beyond the power of gratification, has dared to assert, that England shall cease to exist as a nation, and that Britons shall be no more remembered but in name.—Justice then, to ourselves, demands the developement of the character of this sanguinary boaster; you, Britons, ought to be fully acquainted with this ferocious foe. And alas! the numerous instances collected in this publication, from indubitable and highly respected authorities, sufficiently prove that “where’er he moves in anger, desolation tracks his progress, where’er he pauses in amity, affliction mourns his friendship.”

This faithful exposition of his crimes, will we trust, increase the just hatred of Britons against him, and strengthen their noble resolution of dying in defence of their King, their Constitution, and their Liberties.

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LIFE OF BUONAPARTE.

CHAP. I.

Birth of Napoleon Buonaparte—His Education, with remarks during his minority.—His rank previous to the Revolution.—He gets preferment under the Jacobins.

THE ancestors of *Buonaparte* appears to have been settled in the island of *Corfica* so long ago as the beginning of the eighteenth century; but the general received opinion is, that the family descended originally from *Tuscany*. His father, *Charles Buonaparte*, was a farmer at *Ajaccio*, a small sea-port town on the western coast of *Corfica*. He married a native of the same place, by name *Letitia Raniolini*, who unfortunately for the tranquillity of Europe, gave birth to *Napoleon Buonaparte* on the fifteenth of August, 1769. It has been said that General *Paoli* is his godfather, but this appears not to be true: *Charles Buonaparte* served sometime under

General *Paoli*, which probably suggested to some *French* panegyrist, the idea of complimenting *Napoleon* by saying that he was the godson of that celebrated veteran.

At a very early age he was placed in the military school at *Brienne*, in the province of *Champagne*, as appears, through the interest of Governor *Marbœuf*. *Buonaparte*, while at this school, unquestionably evinced very great abilities; he became a proficient in the mathematics, and studied the art of war with uncommon assiduity. The general rule of his conduct, however, notwithstanding his youth, was fully indicative of that tyrannical disposition which he has displayed with such horrid traits of cruel barbarity since the commencement of his public career, and which, while it renders him as detestable as he is conspicuous to the present age, stamps his memory with indelible ignominy and disgrace, a beacon to posterity. He had great talents, it is true; by every one were they generally admitted, yet was he universally disliked in the academy, and not without good reason, as appears from the most accurate information.

Sullen and austere he seemed shut up within himself, and if chance or fancy led him to mingle in the sports and amusements of his companions, he was sure to display that bluntness of character and assuming conduct, which could only find its own gratification in the depression or total annihilation of the enjoyment and entertainment of his fellow comrades. In fact, he was proud, obstinate, taciturn, and contemplative; and moreover, was so extremely revengeful, that he seldom or ever forgave the most trifling injury, even when

when unintentional, the following instance of which is remarkably enough, and deserves to be noticed, as it incontestibly demonstrates his ferocious and sanguinary mind, even at the age of fourteen or fifteen.

He was fond of cultivating a small spot of ground, which he called his garden ; envious in the extreme, he could not support the thought of his comrades walking in it, or having a share of what it produced ; and in order to prevent them from entering it, he *fortified* it, that is, he planted palisades round it, and dug a kind of trench, which rendered the approach to his garden rather difficult. On a day of rejoicing, the other students were amusing themselves in letting off fireworks, some of which taking a different direction, unfortunately burst in *Buonaparte's* garden, and greatly discomposed the œconomy and arrangement thereof ; *Buonaparte*, though burning with anger, had sufficient command over himself to conceal his designs of revenge, and without ever considering that the students were not to blame, as they had not the least idea of the fireworks falling in the garden, he resolved to punish them in the most cruel manner ; for that purpose, he made a kind of mine, and placed several trains of gunpowder around his garden, and watching a convenient opportunity, he set fire to them at the instant that some of his comrades were near the spot ; they were miserably scorched, and while they were in the utmost confusion, the *heroic Napoleon* sallied among them with his sword, and would undoubtedly have satisfied his thirst of blood, if the principal had not fortunately happened to pass by at the moment. This anecdote may be relied on as authentic, and which we particularly

larly notice, it being extracted from a work published some years ago by one of *Buonaparte's* panegyrists, who passes the highest encomiums on him for the *military skill* which he displayed in that instance ! But what sentiment of feeling will such an action excite in the bosom of our readers ? Will not the human frame shudder with horror at the bare recital ? and will it not breathe forth this exclamation, “ that was savage revenge ! ”—Indeed it was *revenge à la Buonaparte*.

In the year 1786, *Buonaparte* left the academy of *Brienne* for that of *Paris*, where he continued his military studies. During his stay in *Paris* he manifested most virulent opinions, and an obstinate and violent attachment to the jacobinical party,* which more than once had nearly cost him his life. In 1788 he entered a cadet officer in an artillery corps, and in 1790, was made lieutenant in the regiment *de la Fère*, which was then in *Dauphine* ; soon after which, he withdrew, and returned into *Corfica*. From that Period, to the year 1793, *Buonaparte* remained nearly in a state of obscurity in his native town. But, at this time, the jacobins having the ascendancy over *France*, *Buonaparte* began to think of trying his fortune among them ; and, understanding the *British* government meant to send a fleet against *Corfica*, he was rather hastened than retarded in his pursuits ; wherefore he left *Ajaccio*, and once more visited *France*, where he made himself known to *Salicetti*, a Corsican, and then

* The denomination of *Jacobins* seems to have been taken from the church where the meetings were held, which had formerly belonged to the Jacobin Monks, so famous in the Annals of the Spanish Inquisition.

then a member of the National Convention, by whom he was kindly received, and was by him introduced to *Barras*, who, from that period, may be considered his patron.

Buonaparte was soon appointed to the command of an artillery company, and as such, was employed in the siege of *Toulon*. Whether it was his bravery, or excessive violent principles that so particularly influenced *Barras* in his favour, we do not pretend to determine; but so it was, that he was very soon promoted to the important situation of General of Brigade. It may not, however, be amiss to observe, that he was recommended by one of the National Representatives; that he was a man, though young, not void of the rudiments of military operations; and above all, (which *Barras*, no doubt, in common with the much greater part of the Conventional Body, esteemed of much higher worth than all the experimental abilities of a tried veteran) he professed an entire devotion to that sanguinary disposition which so particularly characterised the then government of France. And when it is fairly considered, the critical situation in which that country was placed, being in absolute rebellion against itself, governed by an usurped power, and beset on every side by foreign troops, it is no wonder that young and active officers were daily wanting to fill up the innumerable vacancies that inevitably accrue on such occasions; thus the rapid rise of *Buonaparte* will not appear altogether so very surprising and wonderful as many have considered it. But, however, be the real cause of his elevation what it may, we find *Barras* could not have fixed his bounteous goodness

ness upon any one more capable of carrying his diabolical orders into execution, as will appear among the first of his *military exploits* in this his exalted situation, and which reflects almost as much dishonor on his name as any one of his subsequent crimes.

CHAP. II.

Toulon taken by the French.—Buonaparte's conduct to the unfortunate Inhabitants.—He commands an Expedition against Corsica.—Is defeated by the English there.—Is afterwards arrested.—Released again by Barras, and remains in a state of obscurity.

TOULON was given up to the Allies in the month of August, 1793, whose army was composed of *Englishmen, Portuguese, Spaniards, Neapolitans, Sardinians, &c. &c.* The confusion naturally arising from such a mixture of foreigners, rendered the taking of *Toulon* easy to the *French*, particularly as the fortifications were chiefly on the sea-side. The Allies were driven from that place in the month of December of the same year. *Toulon*, though generally speaking one of the most loyal towns in *France*, found an asylum, notwithstanding, for a great number of Jacobins, many of whom the Allies had been necessitated to keep in temporary confinement during their stay, in order to prevent the operation of their plans for revolting. Being now liberated, they joined their
united

united efforts, with many others of the fraternity, in beseeching the governors of the Republican army to give them revenge for *supposed* past aggressions; it was granted. The punishment of the inhabitants was accordingly left to the discretion of *Barras*, who immediately, agreeable to the *humane* dictates of his *feeling* soul, ordered a *decimation*!—a total destruction of one tenth part of the inhabitants!—leaving it to the choice of the aggrieved, the Jacobins, who should be the particular individuals thereby to suffer!

Buonaparte was selected as the most proper person to carry this diabolical order into execution. Surely *Barras* must have been well aware of the sanguinary mind of his dependant. *Buonaparte* must have forcibly evinced his delight in blood, or he never would have been entrusted with carrying into effect, such a bloody mandate, and as the sequel will prove, *Barras* had not ill judged him.

He issued a strict order that ALL the inhabitants of *Toulon* should assemble in the *Champ de Mars*, when he desired the ever to be detested Jacobins to point out those whom they intended to be their victims. What a scene of horror have we now to blacken the page of history with!—a combination of rapacious barbarity, murder, and distress, to depict which, words are inadequate. The most innocent and respectable persons were among the first selected to satisfy their savage minds, while the lovely and virtuous females became the sport of the most wanton barbarity! But, when the Jacobins had made their choice—when the numerous victims of republican fury had been marked, then did *Buonaparte* surpass even the hopes of those sanguinary

sanguinary ruffians, to satiate whose blood-thirsty revenge, he was then employed. He ordered the trembling and unhappy people to be placed in a particular direction, after which, with as *firm* a tone of voice, as if he had been commanding a *feu de joie*, he gave the fatal word—his inhuman soldiers fired, and the miserable victims fell in heaps, some dead, others dying and dreadfully mangled, others lying motionless through fear, and many, no doubt, in hopes to escape with their lives, among the bleeding bodies of their friends and relations. But *Buonaparte* was too ingenious in cruelty to be overseen by such an imposition, and the idea that any one should escape with life, was too powerful to be supported by his *tender heart*—he resorted to a more refined mode of relieving his doubts and anxieties on this head, than perhaps was ever suggested by any of his predecessors in blood, and which, was it not well recorded and attested, would appear inconceivable. He ordered one of his officers to advance, and declare, that those who were alive should have *pardon*, and their lives spared, if they would rise and cry out "*vive la Republique.*" The unhappy beings, some wounded, others unhurt, eagerly accepted the treacherous offer, and arose from the bed of carnage, joyous to retain their existence: but at the moment they were uttering the words, which *Buonaparte* had assured them should preserve their lives, he calmly ordered the repetition of a tremendous fire, and the deluded wretches fell, to rise no more.

Such is the horrid but too true account we have of the first outset, as it were, in public life of *Napoleon Buonaparte*—murdering his fellow-creatures, his countrymen

trymen it may be said, in cool blood, by hundreds!!—What detestation will *you* not feel for such a monster?—you, Britons! who when “the din of battle’s o’er,” are ever ready to lend a succouring and friendly hand to the man who fought your life but a few minutes before; Yet can it be believed, will posterity give it credit, that even such a wretch has sycophants base enough to assert, that *Buonaparte is a man unspotted with the crimes of the revolution?* But such there are; while others who have not been able flatly to deny the fact, attempt to palliate his conduct on account of his youth, and by asserting, that being under command, he was bound to obey the military discipline; happy should we have been to re-echo these assertions, or any other that would put his character on a fair level, or even to exalt it, could we have been justified by facts: It may be worthy a mercenary and debased panegyrist, to endeavour an extenuation of such horrid deeds on *any* grounds, but surely it would be an unpardonable offence in us to follow his footsteps; the truth is, *Buonaparte* was at the age of twenty-four at the time of the *Toulon* massacre, and no one with propriety can say, that he was too young to entertain the feelings of humanity; and as to his being under command, alas, such an assertion cannot tend much to the palliation of his crimes, dreadful experience has sufficiently demonstrated to all *Europe*, that *Buonaparte* never surpassed or shewed himself more blood-thirsty than when he became *Commander in Chief*; sufficient instances of which will be shewn and incontestibly proved in the course of this publication.

Soon after the capture of *Toulon* by the *French*, an armament was fitted out against the *English*, then at *Corfica*, the command of which was given to *Buonaparte*, who, ambitious to wrest from us his native place, directed his forces towards the town of *Ajaccio*: but *there* he had to cope with *Britons*!—and, as in *every instance* where such has been the case, he was completely repulsed, and his plans failed in every point. He returned again to *France*, where after the fall of the tyrant *Robespierre* he was arrested; but whether in consequence of his unsuccessful attack on *Ajaccio*, or because his envious and cruel disposition being known, he was denominated a Terrorist, we are not altogether prepared to say, though the latter is by far the most probable. It is, however, certain, that through the contrivance of *Barras* he was soon liberated; but still, being in disgrace with the Convention, he remained in great obscurity and distress, and was reduced even to a state of penury, until that dreadful epoch the 13th *Vendemiaire*, (*October 4th*, 1795.) To that memorable day he owes his rapid and unmerited promotion; for it was the astonishing insensibility with which he commanded his troops to fire upon the inhabitants of *Paris*, and the apathy with which he beheld the massacre of thousands of *Frenchmen*, that paved the road to his present elevated state.

CHAP. III.

Insurrection of the 13th Vendemiaire. Buonaparte emerges from obscurity, and commands the Troops at Paris.—Observations thereon.—He is appointed to the command of the Army of the Interior. Marries the Mistress of Barras. Is removed to the Army of Italy.

THE Parisians had long been weary of the inordinate ambition, and tyrannical conduct of their rulers; but, dropping into a fatal lethargy, seemed to require something more than ordinarily pressing to awaken them to a just sense of their wrongs and degradation. About this time, however, the Convention rejected the constitution of 1793, proceeded to prepare another, which being ready, they enacted, that *two-thirds of the members of the Convention should be sitting members in the new legislature, as the only means of consolidating the French Republic*. Thus violating the rights of election, was a declaration at once to the French nation, and to the world, that they were dubious of a sufficient number of Republicans being returned to form a Republic.

This odious measure completely roused the unfortunate inhabitants of *France*, already oppressed and plundered by a set of sanguinary leaders, and they resolved to make a desperate effort to regain that freedom, which was once their portion;—they accordingly took

took up arms against the Convention. This insurrection happened on the 4th of *October*, 1795, and according to the *French* calendar is called the insurrection of the 13th *Vendemiaire*.

The *Parisians* were certainly on the point of succeeding in the attempt to regain their liberty, had not *Buonaparte*, as it were, stepped in between the lip and the cup; for it appears, although the Convention sent the troops of the line under the command of *Barras* against the people, their situation was not only more critical and disconcerting, but thereby became absolutely perilous; for the troops proving somewhat refractory, objected to fire upon their fellow-citizens; and *Barras* was so little acquainted with military discipline, that he knew not how to enforce obedience; and, more particularly so, as he was much disliked, and even despised among the soldiers. At this momentous crisis he sent for several general officers, who had, in many instances, served with great credit; to whom he very *generously* offered the command of the troops; but they, being well aware, that whoever assumed it, would be expected to order his men to fire on the innocent inhabitants, uniformly rejected the *proffered honor*.

Barras and his party, finding themselves verging on the very brink of destruction, were precipitated into a state of desperation, and gladly would have lavished all the honors the nation could afford on the most abject being in existence, were it possible he could sufficiently have enforced the obedience of the troops to their will; when, *fortunately* for them, but *unfortunately* for the cause of *justice* and *humanity*, *Barras* re-

collected

collected the *glorious exploits* of *Buonaparte* against the wretched and defenceless inhabitants of *Toulon*.—Happy *Parisians* ! had your daggers been but sheathed in the remembrancer's heart prior to that fatal moment ! thousands of you would yet have been living, to enjoy the peaceful blessings of your once happy land, and despotism, from the cast of all human probability, would have vanished from your delightful shores.

Buonaparte was immediately sent for, and as soon appointed to take charge of the troops. He, being delighted with the opportunity of emerging from that obscurity in which he had vegetated so many months, eagerly accepted a command so congenial to the ferocity of his disposition ; and the blood which that day flowed in the streets of *Paris*, and even in the churches, was a horrid proof that *Buonaparte* surpassed even *Robespierre* in savage cruelty. The marks of the grape shot on the front of the church of *St. Roch*, will long remain a monument of that bloody act, unless he should think fit to have them effaced, as he has done other commemorations of cruelty since his exaltation to the Consulship.

His conduct on that day was marked with such traits of barbarity, that his panegyrist has not been able to deny, that, “the cruelties which were committed on that day, have been generally attributed to *Buonaparte*.” However consonant no doubt, with the views of his abject mind, he endeavours to exculpate him, or rather to diminish the enormity of his crimes ; but the weak and contemptible manner in which it is done,

done, inclines us to introduce a few pertinent remarks upon his curious arguments.

After having allowed, that, "the odium of what happened on the 13th *Vendemiaire*, has been thrown upon *Buonaparte*," he says, "*Before that assertion be credited, several questions must be solved;*" The following are his *sapient* questions, and our readers will immediately perceive *how much they tend to exculpate Buonaparte*.

First. "Who were those who commanded the sections of *Paris*, and led them against the Convention?"

Second. "What was their aim in rising against the Convention?"

It is indeed extremely curious, that the *impartial* writer who *proposes* these questions, does not *answer them himself*; particularly as he asserts, that, "the fair answer to these two questions *alone*, are sufficient to confound all the calumniators of *Buonaparte*!" It is easy to account for his remissness in neglecting to insert such important answers; the fact is, the answer he would wish could be given fairly, must be an imaginary one only, for well he was aware that nothing on that subject could be committed to the Press in plain language, that would not aggravate *Buonaparte's* guilt; explicit answers, and we think judicious ones, has, however, been given to them, which we subjoin, not doubting, but they will feelingly strike every one as such, who has marked the progress of the *French* revolution.

1st Question. "Who were those who commanded the sections of *Paris*, and led them against the Convention?"

Answer.

Answer. Men, whose fathers, brothers, sons, &c. had been imprisoned, plundered, and guillotined, *by order of that Convention*;—whose daughters, mothers, and sisters had been violated, guillotined, and massacred, **BY ORDER OF THAT CONVENTION?**”

2d. Question. “What was their aim, in rising against the Convention?”

Ans. To seek a just revenge, punish the murderers of their friends and relatives, and regain their freedom.

Such were those innocent, but unhappy men, against whom the *hero Buonaparte*, directed his mercenary troops.—The streams of blood flowed through the streets, and *He, BUONPARTE, viewed it with perfect calmness!* *He could have stopped the first effusion of it, BUT WOULD NOT!* Oh! if the vengeance of Heaven had decreed, that *Englishmen* should yet become his slaves, would *their* dying groans penetrate his callous heart?—No! he heard those of *Frenchmen* with *apathy*;—those of *Britons* he would hear with *rapture and delight!*

The faithful panegyrist of *Napoleon*, conscious of his own inability to answer these questions, suddenly changes to *affirmatives*, in which he declares, “*Buonaparte* was second in command, and that he obeyed “*Barras's* orders! as a military subaltern *knows only how to obey.*

“*He acted as every man of sense would have done in the same situation!* Those who served with him, “are never mentioned, because *their obscurity secured them from envy.*”

The first of these assertions may easily be proved to be a gross falsehood; as it is well known that *Barras* delegated

delegated all his own command to *Buonaparte*, and was himself only *nominally* commander in chief; we cannot, however, better convict this fulsome adulator, than by *his own words*; for, in the very same page he tells us, that a general said, in so impressive a manner as to strike all who heard him :---“ *The Parisians are not aware how much they owe to Buonaparte!* “ — *Had he literally followed the orders he received, no day had ever been more bloody!* ” If a military subaltern *knows only how to obey*, *Buonaparte* was not a subaltern on the 13th Vendemiaire, for *he did not obey*, says the very man who attempts to defend his infamous conduct!

As to the assertion, that, “ *every man of sense, would act as he did,* ” we shall only add, that if behaving like *Buonaparte* be really necessary to constitute a man of *sense* in the opinion of that *respectable French* historian, we shall always feel proud of his deeming us *fools*. He is not less disgusting when he asserts, that, those who served with *Buonaparte* on that day, are never mentioned, because their obscurity secured them from envy!—the truth is, that many respectable officers quitted their posts, rather than witness such a scene of blood, and indeed *Buonaparte alone had the honor of the day!!* We hesitate not to aver, that all the massacres which were committed on that day, were ordered by *Buonaparte*, for a general so well versed in military discipline as he is, could easily have restrained his troops, if he had felt the least desire of sparing the lives of the unfortunate inhabitants of *Paris*.

After the massacre, *Barras* proposed *Buonaparte* for the command of the army of the Interior. *Freron* objected

objected to so young a man being commander in chief of so great an armed force; but *Barras* in reply said, "We want a man who is totally destitute of the tender sensibility of nature—a man who thinks compassion a crime; and therefore *Buonaparte* will suit us better than any other;" accordingly he was appointed, and took the command. But, by way of appendage, *Barras* further honored *Bonaparte*, by proposing to him a lucrative marriage, with a lady for whom *he no longer entertained any tender sentiments*. This lady was the widow of the *Viscomte de Beauharnois*; her husband had fallen under the axe of *Robespierre*, after which it was said that *Barras* protected her. We shall not dwell on that lady's conduct, it being totally irrelevant to our subject, and as *her* behaviour, whatever it may have been, neither increases or diminishes *Buonaparte's* crimes. *Napoléon* is no great admirer, we understand, of the fair sex, consequently the conduct of his proffered spouse was no consideration with him; he wanted money, and the widow *Beauharnois* was rich, therefore he eagerly acceded to *Barras's* proposal.

Thus *Buonaparte*, at the age of twenty-six, became General and Commander in Chief of an army, and the husband of a rich widow, (though not very young, being at least twenty years older than himself) and all for having massacred thousands of *Frenchmen* under a *Barras*!!!

Buonaparte did not remain long in the command of the army of the interior, for *Barras*, *Carnot*, and others were much displeased with General *Scherer*, who had the command of the army of *Italy*. There

never was an army in a more deplorable condition than this ; it consisted of about sixty thousand men, destitute of ammunition and clothes, and almost of provisions, and what they had was of a very bad quality ; the soldiers likewise became disaffected, not being regularly paid ; and, in fact, the whole army presented one general scene of indescribable misery and distress. They were then standing on the defence, near the river of *Genoa* ; and the immense expence of re-clothing and paying this army being considerably more than the government was then able to bear, under the extreme exigence of their finances, *Barras* and *Carnot* set to work on new plans for their relief. They soon determined to remove *Scherer* from his situation, and the command of the Army of *Italy* was by them offered to *Buonaparte* with the specific proviso that he would undertake to *clothe, feed, and pay the whole army*, without putting the government to any kind of expence.

Such an offer as this, in every sober mind, we should reasonably have supposed must have created the most disgusting sentiments, and would rather have been considered an insult than an honor ; but *Buonaparte* received the overture with rapture ; he foresaw the power that it would give him, and calculating upon the advantages of that power, he joyfully accepted the proposal. He promised that the Directory should be at no expence, but that he would equip the army by his own means. *A man of honor* would have found it impossible to have fulfilled such a promise, but *Buonaparte* found it extremely easy ; he soon found means to procure every article that was necessary

sary for the men, at the same time that he indulged his cruel and rapacious disposition without restraint, as will be seen in the following Chapter.

CHAP. IV.

The Genoese compelled to clothe and pay the French Army.—Battle of Montenotte, in which Buonaparte is victorious, as also at Millesimo, Mondovi, &c.—Truce with the King of Sardinia.—Passage of the Po.—Battle of Lodi.—Lombardy and Italy pillaged without restraint.—Milan and Pavia revolts.—Their dreadful Punishment.

BUONAPARTE had no sooner reached his destination, and assumed the command of the army, than he began to consider the most proper place to lay under contribution. He soon perceived, that the republic of *Genoa* was the most convenient, and the most likely to answer his ends for the present time, the inhabitants, for the most part, being powerful and opulent, and the soil remarkably fertile; he therefore bent his mind towards the plundering of it. It is true, that *Genoa* was *not* at war with *France*, and that many generals would have deemed that a sufficient reason

reason to abstain from any unjust act towards the state ; but *Buonaparte*, who does not respect the laws or rights of nations quite so scrupulously, sent a message to *Genoa*, and demanded provisions, clothing, and ammunition, for the whole of his army. He even added irony to his arbitrary measure ; for he told them, that they must accept his bills upon the Directory, and that they should be re-imburshed *generously*. The *Genoese* were greatly distressed at that command ; some of them wished to send a deputation to *Buonaparte*, to represent his measure as a violation of neutral rights ; but the more prudent determined to comply with the tyrannical request of the *Corfican*, and they accordingly submitted to all his contributions. In consequence of that *just* and *masterly* measure, *Buonaparte* equipped his army, paid his discontented soldiers, procured excellent provisions, and filled *his* coffers with a considerable sum of money. It might be supposed, that, *Buonaparte* felt gratitude for the liberal manner in which the *Genoese* had supplied him and his army ; but, on the contrary, after the battle of *Montenotte*, which he gained against the *Austrian* General, *Beaulieu*, he entered the territories of the friendly *Genoese*, and spread ruin and devastation on every side ! The battle of *Montenotte* was the first which the once dispirited Army of *Italy* won against the *Austrians*. To the uncommon success which attended *Buonaparte* during the whole of the campaign of 1796, he indubitably owes the reputation of being one of the greatest generals of the age. That he possesses considerable military talents is but too certain, yet we think that an impartial observer will acknowledge, that *Buonaparte*

parte does not deserve to rank as a military commander, so eminently as some of his admirers think he does. In the first place, it will not be denied, that all the *Austrian* Generals who were opposed to him, committed some egregious errors: in the beginning of the campaign, they were so confident of success, and despised the republican troops so much, that they neglected to take vigorous measures, which would have prevented *Buonaparte* from concentrating his forces, and taking advantageous positions: after he had, contrary to expectation, gained two or three signal victories, an opposite sentiment seemed to prevail in the *Austrian* armies: certain it is, that they never fought against *Buonaparte* with that cool, steady, and persevering bravery with which they had so often opposed *Hoche*, *Jourdan*, *Moreau*, and other *French* Generals, whose abilities were unquestionably equal to his own. In all the battles which he gained against the *Austrians*, his army was greatly superior in numbers; and, as *Buonaparte* does not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of thousands of his soldiers, he at length broke through the ranks of the *Austrians*, who were, literally speaking, wearied with killing his soldiers; fresh troops were poured in every moment, and the harassed *Austrians* were compelled to retreat: it will be found, that he owes most of his victories to those manœuvres: and we think it proved in the clearest manner, that, in the celebrated battle of *Marengo*, *Buonaparte* is entitled to less praise than in any other in which he had the command. Another system which *Buonaparte* invariably pursued in *Italy*, was, that of corrupting by large sums of money, many persons who were attached

attached to the *Austrian* armies; by those means, he became perfectly acquainted with the plans and designs of his opponent, and had time to take the necessary measures to frustrate them. He had always a number of crafty *Italian* spies in his pay; and by their treachery, which was assisted by the carelessness of the *Austrian* commanders, *Buonaparte* knew every one of their intentions, as soon as it was formed. He, on the contrary, imparted his designs to none, but a few of his confidential officers; the secrecy of his plans, combined with his perfect knowledge of the *Austrian* operations, gave him a decided advantage, which steady valour alone could not oppose. Great part of the amazing sums of money which he exacted by the most unwarrantable contributions, was devoted to the rewarding of his spies; and, in one instance, he gave no less than 24,000 livres (nearly £1000,) to a spy, who had procured him the plan which *Beaulieu* intended to follow in one of his battles against the *French*.

The battle of *Montenotte* was followed by that of *Millesimo*, in which, according to *Buonaparte's* well-known authentic statement, he said, that he had taken nine thousand prisoners! It has been often remarked, even by *Buonaparte's* friends, that his dispatches to the Directory were filled with such pompous and exaggerated statements, that it was impossible to form a just conception of the real extent of his victories, until the *Austrian* accounts were published. Eleven days after the battle of *Millesimo*, *Buonaparte* was again victorious at *Mondovi*, in *Piedmont*; the unhappy consequences of that victory was the delivery of the

the fortresses of *Tortona* and *Comi* into the hands of the *French* army. The King of *Sardinia*, unable to oppose the powerful invader, was compelled to request a truce, and *Buonaparte* granted it under the most humiliating conditions. General *Beaulieu*, who commanded the *Austrian* army, passed the *Po*, and fortified himself, intending to prevent *Buonaparte* from passing it; but unfortunately he was deceived by some false movements which the *French* General made, and *Buonaparte* was enabled to cross the *Po*, without any loss. After a slight engagement near *Fombio*, General *Beaulieu* retreated to the banks of the *Adda*, and possessed himself of the village of *Lodi*. *Buonaparte* being successful in a battle which was fought near that village, the *Austrian* General evacuated it; and not having sufficient time to break down the bridge, he drew up all his army in order of battle, along the left bank of the *Adda*, and ordered thirty pieces of cannon to be placed in such a manner as to *enfil* the bridge of *Lodi*. *Buonaparte*, who has always deemed the lives of his soldiers of no value, thought, that by sacrificing a vast number of men, he might probably succeed in forcing the passage, and increase his military fame. He immediately assembled a council of war, and signified his wish of attacking the *Austrian* army, without loss of time. Every one of his Generals reprobated the attempt, as they considered it to be of the most dangerous nature; they remonstrated, in the strongest terms, against the impropriety of sending half of the army to *certain death*, when it was very evident, that it would be as easy to cross the *Adda*, in many other places, as it had been

to

to pass the *Po*. Probably, every other commander of an army would gladly have deferred the passing of the *Adda*, and abandoned the idea of forcing the bridge, when such powerful reasons as the saving of the lives of several thousand men were urged; but *Buonaparte* recollected, that it would sound much better to say, “I have forced the bridge of *Lodi*,” though it was defended by thirty pieces of cannon and by the whole *Austrian* army,” than to say “I deferred the passage of the *Adda* for a few days,” being unwilling to send my brave soldiers to unnecessary butchery:” ambition alone occupied his thoughts; he knew that, notwithstanding the destruction of so many of his fellow creatures, he would be termed the *Conqueror of Lodi*, that cogent reason determined him to hasten the attack; but, as the danger was imminent, he assembled the grenadiers; and having largely expatiated on the glory they would gain, he proposed to them to force the passage of the bridge. Brave as the grenadiers were, they paused before they promised to obey—at length, being unwilling to appear in the least apprehensive of death, they asked *Buonaparte* to order them some brandy, after which they would proceed to the attack. Their merciless General, having supplied them plentifully with brandy, gave the terrible word of command, and twenty columns of grenadiers and carbineers advanced towards the fatal bridge, *à pas de charge*! The *Austrian* artillery was discharged—every one fell!!—Other men immediately advanced, and met with the same fate!!—Those Generals who had voted against that rash measure, did every thing in their power to prevail

prevail on *Buonaparte* to desist from the murderous attempt ;—but he had witnessed the destruction of his soldiers with perfect apathy, and he was determined to carry the point.—He ordered another column to rush forward :—more than half met instant death !—A fresh order was issued :—other troops advanced, and at length succeeded in forcing the passage.—Soldiers of *Buonaparte* ! you who were present at the dreadful scene which we have just depicted, what must have been your feelings, when you beheld your friends, your relatives, cruelly butchered by your General, who might have spared the life of *every one* of them, had he valued his soldiers as much as he did the name of *Conqueror* !

In consequence of the victory of *Lodi*, *Milan* was obliged to submit, and shortly after, *Pavia*, *Pizzigithone*, and *Cremona*, were taken possession of by the *French Army*. *Parma*, and indeed the whole of *Lombardy*, was conquered and pillaged. Almost incredible are the contributions, extorsions, ravages, and cruelties, which *Buonaparte* ordered and committed in *Lombardy* and *Italy*. In every town, he seized the public money ; from *Milan* alone, he carried away nearly fifty chests of silver plate.—From *Lombardy*, *Parma*, *Bologna*, *Leghorn*, &c. he exacted contributions to the amount of more than eighty-five millions ! ! The property of no individual was safe ; to be *rich* was to be *criminal*, and we shall soon see how the *poor* were treated by that unrelenting invader.

The rapacity, the cruel and tyrannical disposition of *Buonaparte*, rendered him hateful even to many of his officers and men ; he perceived it, and to prevent
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their complaining to the Directory, he kept them perpetually on the alert; they were always employed either in battle, or in plundering the once happy and fertile *Italian* shores. The Duke of *Modena* had preserved the strictest neutrality; he had even sent an ambassador to *Buonaparte*, to express his sincere wish of being on terms of amity with the *French Republic*, but the *merciful and humane Buonaparte* was resolved, that no *Italian State* should be deprived of the benefits which he had conferred largely on *Genoa, Lombardy, Milan, &c. &c.* He received the ambassador with the most tyrannical insolence; and declared, that, unless the Duke of *Modena* paid him a million of livres, and sent him the best twenty pictures in his gallery, he would conquer and ravage his dominions. The Duke was compelled to accede to those cruel and insulting terms, and thus purchased a few week's tranquillity.

The unhappy inhabitants of the conquered states groaned under their yoke of iron. Their situation was so horrid, that they resolved to make a desperate effort, and endeavour to free themselves from the tyranny of their new master. *Milan, Pavia*, and many other places rose in arms;—they destroyed the Trees of Liberty, and tore the national cockades. *Buonaparte*, who longed for an opportunity of indulging his sanguinary disposition, was delighted at finding such a plausible excuse for his cruelties. He entered *Milan* with a squadron of horse, and a battalion of grenadiers:—he immediately ordered the whole of the municipality to be shot!! and carried away two hundred of the principal inhabitants as hostages;—not one of whom,

whom, we will venture to assert, ever returned to their once peaceful homes!! What admirer of *Buonaparte* would undertake to defend his conduct in that instance? *The whole of the municipality to be shot!* Why? What crime had they committed? Alas! they regretted the happy days which they led before *Buonaparte* conquered them, and ravaged their country:—impelled by a noble and patriotic ardor, they wished to rescue their lawful possessions from the grasp of an invader.—*That*, and that only, was their crime! In other terms, a sentiment which may be called a most heroic virtue, was deemed by *Buonaparte* an unpardonable crime; and the breast that glowed with it, was pierced by the balls of his satellites! Such, would be your fate, brave Sons of *Albion*, were Providence to permit your falling under *Buonaparte's* power.—If, wearied with his continual exactions, or irritated with his cruelties, you fought to liberate your country from his oppressive and intolerable sway, you would be treated as the basest criminals, and doomed to a painful and ignominious death!

But *Buonaparte* was not satisfied with the cruelties which he had inflicted on the wretched inhabitants of *Milan*. He determined to make an example of the miserable village of *Benafco*, and, in order that it might deter the other towns and villages from imitating *Milan*, *Pavia*, &c. he resolved to treat the inhabitants of *Benafco* in a manner, which, we do not hesitate to assert, was never surpassed by any of *Nero's* blackest deeds. He first ordered the whole village to be set on fire; and, whilst the flames were spreading

ruin

ruin and devastation in every part, HE COMMANDED HIS SOLDIERS TO PUT EVERY ONE OF THE INHABITANTS TO DEATH!! The cries of the children,—the prayers, entreaties, and lamentations of the wretched females, were alike unavailing. *Buonaparte* calmly gave the necessary directions to his men, who, to do them justice, were extremely unwilling to obey such diabolical commands. Some of the officers, who dared to express their disapprobation of the measure, were deprived of their commissions, under some fallacious pretext! From *Buonaparte's* presence, and his peremptory orders, the soldiers were compelled to obey so dreadfully, that, *not ONE of the inhabitants of Benafco REMAINED ALIVE!* The fate of the citizens of *Pavia* was nearly as lamentable; they had shut the gates of the town against their merciless enemy, but, his artillery soon demolished them, and the sanguinary victor, not content with giving up the town to the cruelty and rapacity of his men, ordered many of the most respectable inhabitants to be put to death, which command was faithfully executed! It would be impossible to find in history, even in that of the most barbarous nations, an instance of cruelty, perfidy, and revenge, surpassing that which we have just related. That a general should invade a country, and, after having conquered it, should treat the inhabitants with insolence and tyranny, levying the most unreasonable contributions, and authorising his troops to plunder every town, is certainly sufficient to entitle him to the execration of every friend to justice, good order, and humanity. What then shall we feel for the man, who, not satisfied with such coercive measures

tures, crowns them, by ordering a general massacre of the wretches whom he has plundered of every thing ! !. It requires a large share of resignation and meekness not to imprecate the malediction of Heaven upon that scourge of mankind !

CHAP. IV.

Buonaparte is victorious at Borghetta, and invests Mantua.—Sends a Detachment into the Papal Territories, which he plunders.—Concludes a Treaty with the Pope.—Returns to the blockade of Mantua, where he is checked, and precipitately raises the Siege.—Becomes again successful, and resumes his former Position.

GENERAL Beaulieu, after the battle of *Lodi*, had fortified himself near the *Mincio*, and bravely defended the passage ; but the *French*, greatly superior in numbers, succeeded in forcing it. It is in speaking of the battle of *Borghetta*, that the *French* panegyrist, who has written an impartial account of *Buonaparte's* campaigns in Italy, says, that “ fifty grenadiers threw themselves into the water, holding their muskets over their heads, and that this intrepid action terrified so much the AUSTRIAN ARMY, that they immediately

“*ately gave ground!!!*” The victory at *Borghetta* enabled *Buonaparte* to take *Verona*, and to invest *Man- tua*. *Beaulien’s* army being nearly destroyed, *Buona- parte* had time to consider from what quarter he should raise a fresh contribution. The States of the Church appeared to him the most likely to raise a considerable sum. It was a fertile, and extremely rich territory. *Pius* the Sixth was completely unable to oppose the progress of the *French* troops; and, besides, *Buona- parte* knew that the Pope was old, infirm, and an enemy to warfare; he was, therefore, convinced that *Pius* would make any sacrifice to remain tranquil—all that determined *Buonaparte* to send a detachment against his *Holiness*. It is truly wonderful, with what pride the *French* historian tells you, the *hero of Italy*, *the renowned Buonaparte*, sent some of his troops to take possession of *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, &c. He could not speak more pompously if the Pope had been a potent prince, whose subjects had ill treated the *French*, and by their unwarrantable conduct, had compelled *Buonaparte* to send a detachment to punish them; instead of that, mark the difference:—it is well known, that *Pius* the Sixth, who was truly a meek and worthy prelate, had never in any manner, directly, or indirectly, given any offence to the *French* Republic; yet, without the least pretext, *Buonaparte* orders his troops to take possession of the Pope’s territories, and treats the inhabitants with as much cruelty and rapacity, as if they had been his most inveterate foes! Great God! is that man a *hero* or a *powerful robber*? Read his actions, and you will not find the question difficult to determine. If any one call him a *hero*, how truly will

will he verify that beautiful line, "one murder makes
"a villain—*millions* make a hero!"

Pius the Sixth was aware that resistance was useless; but as he was confident, that, he had never manifested any inimical sentiments towards the *French*, he desired *Cardinal Mathei* to represent to *Buonaparte* his ardent wish of avoiding every species of hostility, and his fervent hope, that, *Buonaparte* would, in consequence abstain from any further acts of violence. The *French* general, certainly as remarkable for his hypocrisy and duplicity as for his sanguinary disposition, wrote an answer to *Cardinal Mathei*, in which he assured him, that, he would not treat the *Pope* as an enemy, that he felt the greatest respect for him, and that he would protect him and the church, whatever might occur. *Pius* the Sixth, confiding in *Buonaparte's* honour, remained perfectly tranquil, and flattered himself that Heaven would allow him to end his days in peace. His terror and distress were unutterable, when he heard, that, six or seven days after *Buonaparte* had solemnly pledged his honour to desist from hostilities, he had, notwithstanding, taken and plundered *Ancona*, *Loretto*, &c. The venerable *Pius* wrote himself to the usurper, and, in the meekest manner, expressed his fears, that the *French* intended to deprive him of his possessions. *Buonaparte*, in his answer, positively declared that was *not* the case; he added, that all those who endeavoured to persuade the *Pope* that *France* was his enemy, were evil-designing persons; for the Republic was resolved to preserve the strictest amity with *Pius* the Sixth. Thus, the man who captured, plundered, and ravaged the richest towns

towns in the Papal territories, had the audacity to write to the Pope in a strain of irony, and assure him that he would protect the Church!! Another proof of *Buonaparte's* good and friendly intentions towards *Pius*, is the treaty which he compelled that unhappy old man to sign. He was to pay *twenty millions* of livres immediately, and *sixteen millions* in the course of two months! besides one hundred of the finest paintings and statues, which, with five hundred manuscripts from the *Vatican*, he was to send to *France*. Will distant ages believe, that a man ever existed, who imposed such conditions, such degrading and tyrannical terms, on the Sovereign of a State, with which he was *completely at peace*! and whose richest treasures he *had* already pillaged, after assuring him, that the *French* army would protect the Pope, and respect his property!! *Buonaparte's* treatment of *Pius* the Sixth is not sufficiently known; it equals any of his acts of rapacity, which we shall find are *tolerably* numerous: It will be perhaps supposed, that, after *Pius* had paid that enormous contribution, and had spoiled his palaces of the finest works of art, he was suffered to remain tranquil. Alas! No: He was obliged to give up the town of *Ancona*, the cities of *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, and the greater part of *Romagna* to his unrelenting persecutor. Notwithstanding those repeated sacrifices, those immense sums of money, and his unconditional submission to the will of the tyrant, the unhappy *Pius* was at last compelled to abdicate, and, as it is well known, ended his days in a retired spot, attended only by one or two faithful followers.

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After the Papal territories had been sacked, plundered, and devastated by *Buonaparte*, he returned to *Milan*; the castle made a vigorous resistance; but was, of course, obliged to surrender. *Buonaparte* then invested *Mantua*; but his career was stopped for some time by the veteran *Wurmser*, who was appointed to succeed *Beaulieu*. *Wurmser*, having received a strong reinforcement from the *Upper Rhine*, attacked the *French* army near *Lake Garda*, and compelled it to retreat with great loss. This victory is an irrefragable proof, that *Buonaparte* would not have acquired such military fame in *Italy*, if the *Austrian* armies had *always* been as numerous as his own. At *Lake Garda*, the armies were nearly equal, and, the consequence was, that the *Austrians* were victorious. *Buonaparte* raised the siege of *Mantua* with such precipitation, that the *French* left above one hundred pieces of cannon in the trenches. They likewise were forced to evacuate *Verona*, *Rivoli*, and several other places. Unfortunately, the good fortune of the *Austrians* soon deserted them; *Buonaparte*, who saw that his military fame, and, consequently, the success of his ambitious and gigantic designs, depended on his retrieving the misfortune he had experienced, watched eagerly for an opportunity of attacking part of *Wurmser's* army; and it happened but too soon. The *Austrian* General passed the *Mincio*, and *Buonaparte* seized that moment to attack him. An obstinate engagement took place at *Castiglione*, but, the *Austrian* forces being divided, were unable to withstand the whole of the *French* army; they were defeated with great loss. At *Desenzano*, and *Lonado*,

Buonaparte was likewise successful. The number of men who were killed, or taken prisoners in those engagements, reduced the *Austrian* army so much, that, even when united, it was inferior to that of *Buonaparte*. General *Wurmser*, however, drew up his army in order of battle, near *Castiglione*, and resolved to trust to discipline and bravery for success. From two of his detachments being cut off, the battle began with great disadvantage on the side of the *Austrians*, and they experienced a signal defeat, which forced them to raise the siege of *Peschiera*. If any of our readers be fond of what is generally called a *Gaſconade*, we would recommend the perusal of one of *Buonaparte's* dispatches, in which he gives an account of *four thousand Austrians, and two hundred Hulans, with four pieces of artillery, surrendering to TWELVE HUNDRED republicans!!* It must be observed, that *Buonaparte* commanded these twelve hundred men. Some of his expressions to the *Austrian* officer who was sent to inform him, that part of the *French* army was surrounded, surpass, in pomposity and insolent pride, any thing we ever heard of. We subjoin one or two as specimens: "Go, and tell your General, that if he mean to insult the *French* Army, I AM HERE!!" Again:—"Take the bandage from his eyes, THAT HE MAY SEE GENERAL BUONAPARTE in the centre of his army!!!"

Several subsequent engagements proved so unfavourable to the *Austrians*, that the *French* army was enabled to resume its former position, and again blockaded *Mantua*. *Wurmser* made a brave stand at *Roveredo*; but, superiority of numbers could not be resisted,

resisted, and he lost great part of his artillery. We request our readers to amuse themselves by reading *Buonaparte's* dispatches, and they will form an idea of the *accuracy* of his statements. They will find, that in the campaign of 1796, he asserts having killed and wounded about fifty thousand *Austrians*, and taken a hundred thousand prisoners; they will also agree, that it required a man of *Buonaparte's abilities*, to perform that miracle; for all the *Austrian* troops under *Beaulieu*, *Wurmser*, *Alvinzy*, and *Davidovich*, amounted only to ONE HUNDRED AND FIVE THOUSAND MEN! *Buonaparte's* eulogist has successively followed the example of his hero, for, he says, that the strong column under *Wurmser* consisted of twenty-five thousand men, and that, in the battles which were fought previously to the *French* troops entering *Trent*, the *Austrians* lost *twenty-four thousand, six hundred, and sixty-one men!* Consequently, General *Wurmser* had only *three hundred and thirty-nine* men under his command, when *Buonaparte* took *Trent*. Yet this *accurate* historian, this relater of *facts*, tells us in the next page, that, at the battle near the *Brenta*, *Wurmser*, who had received no reinforcement, lost *four thousand men!* and, at *Bassano*, *five thousand* were made prisoners!! At *St. George*, *two thousand five hundred* were killed and wounded, and *two thousand taken prisoners!!!* If these *thirteen thousand and five hundred men* be added to the *twenty-four thousand six hundred and sixty-one*, who were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners before the capture of *Trent*, it will immediately be perceived, that *Buonaparte* contrived to kill, wound, and take prisoners, THIRTY-EIGHT THOUSAND AND SIXTY-

SIXTY-ONE MEN, out of a column *originally* consisting, according to the same *French* Historian, of TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND MEN!!

CHAP. V.

The Austrian Army reinforced.—Battles of Arcola, St. Michael's, and Revoli.—Provera and his Detachment, taken Prisoners.—Surrender of Mantua.—A general Massacre at Mari, Fermo, Macegara, &c.

GREATLY weakened by those repeated losses, General *Wurmser* threw himself into *Mantua*, resolving to defend the town to the last extremity. The Emperor sent Generals *Alvinxy* and *Davidovich*, with an army of about thirty-eight thousand men; a force which was certainly inadequate to oppose *Buonaparte*, who had a victorious army of above fifty thousand. *Alvinxy* fortified a village called *Arcola*, with great skill; *Buonaparte* passed the *Adige*, and attacked him. Here *Buonaparte* evinced as much insensibility in sacrificing his men unnecessarily, as he had done at *Lodi*. By making a circle of a few miles, he could easily have saved the lives of thousands of his soldiers; but, the thirst of fame, and his cruel disposition, impelled him to order them to force the passage of *Arcola*:

cols; for which purpose, it was necessary to pass a small bridge. which was defended by the flower of the *Austrian* army. The *French* advanced bravely, but a terrible, and well-directed fire soon arrested their impetuosity: they were all either killed or wounded. General *Angereau*, who commanded the advanced division, displayed much personal valour: he took a flag, and, rushing forward, endeavoured to encourage his men to follow him, but it was in vain. *Buonaparte* then gave a positive command to a column of grenadiers to advance: they reluctantly obeyed; but, notwithstanding their bravery, they were received by such a dreadful fire, as to be compelled to retreat, after having lost one half of their men. *Buonaparte* was therefore obliged to give up the design of forcing the village in front, and he determined to wait the arrival of a division, which was expected in the course of the evening, and which was intended to take the *Austrians* in flank. Every person will immediately perceive the wanton barbarity of *Buonaparte*; it is very plain, that the two attempts of forcing the bridge were perfectly unnecessary, as he knew that a division was marching to join him, which would enable him to take possession of the village, with the loss only of a few men; and he could not be ignorant of the extreme danger attending the fruitless attempt of forcing it in front. Yet, he ordered his brave soldiers to try it: he sent them to certain death, and beheld them fall with his usual sternness and insensibility. That is the affection which *Napoleon Buonaparte* feels for his soldiers, for his companions: after they have served him faithfully, he rewards them by sending them

them to instant death ; and we shall see, that when no opportunity offers to send his soldiers to be butchered, HE finds some *other method* to dispatch them.

At night the column arrived, and immediately attacked the *Austrians* in flank ; this manœuvre, together with the effective strength of the reinforcement, compelled the Hungarians and Croats to retreat. They joined the body of the army, which was at no great distance from the village ; the next morning Buonaparte attacked the *Austrians*, who defended themselves with astonishing bravery ; but, how could it be expected, that they should prove conquerors ? They had to contend with an army superior in numbers ; the *French* were flushed with success, and accustomed to conquer. In every point, except in bravery, the *Austrians* were inferior to the *French*, and the event proved it to be the case : after a most obstinate and sanguinary contest, the *Austrians* retreated, and lost many brave men, being constantly harassed by a division of the enemy, which pursued them until night. *Buonaparte's* account of that victory is truly entertaining ; he says, that “ an officer and TWENTY-FIVE men, put in confusion the AUSTRIAN INFANTRY !! and that EIGHT HUNDRED MEN totally DEFEATED IT !! He adds, that, the loss of the *French* army was *very inconsiderable*, but the *Austrians* had *four thousand men killed ! four thousand men wounded !! and five thousand taken prisoners !!!* *Buonaparte*, it must be confessed, deals in round numbers. It is *easily* conceived, that the loss of the *French* army must have been *very inconsiderable*,

able, when we reflect, that the *first* column was cut to pieces, and the column of grenadiers was absolutely compelled to retreat, after having sustained a tremendous and continued fire !

In the next battle, which was fought at *St. Michael's*, the *Austrians* were victorious at first ; but, a reinforcement arriving, they were repulsed with some loss. At the battle of *Rivoli*, a circumstance occurred, which deserves to be recorded ; and though *Buonaparte's* guilt in that instance is not ascertained, our readers will, we think, coincide with us in opinion, that a man, who is *convicted* of so many crimes ; and, who is as remarkable for his envy, as for his cruel disposition, *could not* act in a different manner. Before we relate the circumstance, we cannot help remarking the manner in which *Marshal de Turenne* acted in a similar case. Previously to the beginning of one of the most desperate battles which he ever fought ; *Marshal de Turenne* was riding along the ranks with two of his lieutenant-generals. While describing to them the order of battle, he pointed out the advantages which he derived from his position, particularly from a small village which was on the right : " That village," said he, " is worth half the battle." A grenadier, who was in the ranks, exclaimed, " How much, do you think, that wood is worth, which stands on our left ? " *Turenne* immediately stopped, considered a few minutes, and, recollecting that he had not defended that passage as he ought to have done, he was struck with the propriety of the soldier's remark, he called the Adjutant, and, pointing to the Grenadier, said, " That man is not in
" his

“his place,—take him out of the ranks, and give him “a commission.” That was worthy of *Turenne*; *Buonaparte* behaved differently, and we are not surprised. The *Austrians* were collected in great force near *Rivoli*; they were about twenty thousand in number, and had taken a very strong position. *Buonaparte*, who was at *Verona*, issued orders for his army to march to the enemy, and set out himself, accompanied by his staff. It was late in the evening when he arrived, and, after reconnoitring the position of the *Austrian* army, he found it so formidable, that he assembled a council of war, to deliberate on the most proper means of attacking the enemy. All his generals were of opinion, that the *Austrians* were in such a favourable position, that it was better to defer the attack until the remainder of the forces arrived. *Buonaparte* objected to that,—he urged the necessity of attacking the *Austrians* at break of day; and, having pointed out a very skilful manœuvre, by which one of the wings would be inevitably thrown in confusion; the other Generals acceded to his opinion, and it was accordingly decided, that the attack should be made early in the morning. A few minutes after *Buonaparte* had left the council of war, one of his aides-de-camps brought him a plan which a sentry had delivered to him; it had been sketched by a grenadier of the name of *Vimar*; this man, being in conversation with some of his comrades, one of them said, that it was impossible to attack the *Austrians* without considerable danger; *Vimar*, to convince him he was wrong, sketched out that plan, and asserted, that if it were followed, the *French* would be indubitably victorious.

rious. His comrades, struck with admiration, gave it to one of the sentries and requested he would deliver it to some of the officers. When *Buonaparte* examined it, he could not conceal his vexation ;—it suggested the propriety of making the very manœuvre that he himself had recommended in the council of war, and which had met with the concurrence and approbation of his generals. He was furious at the thought, that, a simple grenadier should have conceived a plan, similar in every point to his own. *Buonaparte* gave orders, that *Vimar* should be brought before him, and, having put many questions to him, he became convinced, that nature had designed *Vimar* for a great man. *Buonaparte* praised him coolly, and then dismissed him, assuring him that he should be promoted. The next day the battle of *Rivoli* took place ; the event exactly turned out as *Vimar* and *Buonaparte* had prognosticated. *Vimar* fought bravely, and received no wound :—two days after, he was found dead in his bed !!! There certainly is a great difference between *Turenne* and *Buonaparte*.

The bravery of four thousand *Austrians* at the battle of *Rivoli*, was particularly conspicuous ; they made three desperate charges on a body of *French* troops infinitely superior : and it was with the greatest difficulty that they were repulsed. General *Provera*, who commanded a detachment of about six thousand *Austrians*, had been ordered to strengthen and relieve the garrison of *Mantua*. He was attacked by General *Angereau*, and lost some hundreds of men. It is well known, that, by some unskilfulness of the *Austrians*, added to the very superior numbers of the *French*

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troops.

troops, *Provera* and his detachment were taken prisoners a few days after. The *French* historian, whom we have so frequently recommended for his *accurate* statements, and his *just* panegyrics on *Buonaparte*, surpasses himself in his account of *Provera's* disaster. In the first place, he says, that *Provera* lost *two thousand men (exactly !)* when he was attacked by *Angereau*; and yet, when *Provera* surrendered, this *exact* historian says, that the detachment consisted of *six thousand infantry, and seven hundred horse !* which was precisely the number of which it was composed, *previously* to *Angereau's* killing *two thousand men !* The *French Gasconader* is so flushed up with success, that he says, a division of the *French* army attacked the *Austrians* the day before *Provera's* surrender, and defeated them so completely, that, "*a body of six thousand men, well armed and provided with ammunition, &c. laid down their arms, and were all taken prisoners !*" Thus, each of these two successive days, a detachment of *exactly* six thousand men surrendered to the *French* soldiers ! !

The armies of *Alvinzy*, *Davidovich*, and *Provera*, having been dispersed, the garrison of *Mantua* remained in a hopeless state. It defended itself, however, in the most honourable manner, and refused to surrender, until it was reduced to a dreadful situation; during the last month, the inhabitants had subsisted almost wholly on horse-flesh; and, the veteran commander, seeing no hopes of relief, surrendered to the *French* forces on the 3d of *February*, 1796. The capture of *Mantua* was a most unfortunate event, it completed the reduction of *Italy*, in consequence of which

which, the Emperor found himself exposed to the attacks of a powerful and relentless foe. He appointed the Arch-duke *Charles* to the command of a new army, which he raised with some difficulty, and determined to oppose him to *Buonaparte*. We are persuaded, that Prince *Charles* would have proved himself adequate to that important task, had his army been equal to that of the *French* Commander; but there was no comparison between them. The *Austrian* army was composed of recruits, not above one-sixth part of them was properly disciplined:—many of them were conscripts, and wholly unable to oppose troops accustomed to fatigue, and, what was more, accustomed to conquer. The greater part of the army of *Italy* had been fighting for four years, and every private in it might be termed a veteran. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, there is no doubt, that if the Arch-duke *Charles* had been as unrestrained in his command as *Buonaparte* was, he would have made a very noble stand; but he was wholly under the direction of the Council of War at *Vienna*; while *Buonaparte* received no orders from any person: and, as he conquered and pillaged, he pleased the Directors, because, according to his agreement with *Barras* at the time that he took the command, he fed, clothed, and paid the army, without putting the Government to any expence. To the council of War at *Vienna*, may be attributed, we think, all the misfortunes which so unremittingly attended the *Austrian* armies in the fatal campaigns of 1796 and 1797.

Before the opening of the campaign of 1797, an event happened which encreases the black list of *Buonaparte's*

naparte's crimes :—an event, which is so horrid, that it *alone* suffices to rank him with *Caligula*, *Nero*, and other monsters. With whom can we then class *Buonaparte*, when it will be proved, that he has committed fifty crimes more detestable, more diabolical, than even *that*? *Buonaparte* was certainly born to be a grand inquisitor; his ferocious disposition, his delight in shedding blood, amply qualify him for that sanguinary office. The towns of *Mari*, *Fermo*, and *Macegara*, had made a feeble effort to regain that liberty, of which he had so unwarrantably deprived them. We have already shewn his infernal cruelty towards *Milan*, *Pavia*, and *Benafco*. The inhabitants of *Mari*, *Fermo*, and *Macegara*, &c. were treated with still more severity. On the 8th of March, 1797, *Buonaparte* issued a general order, that all the inhabitants of those towns should be *indiscriminately* massacred :—it was executed,—and not *one* escaped! These are *Buonaparte's* deeds :—these are the deeds of a General, who is, by some infatuated men, called a Hero! That *Buonaparte*, when he was known only as General of the Army of *Italy*; when his massacres at *Toulon*, *Milan*, *Benafco*, *Pavia*, *Macegara*, *Mari*, *Fermo*, *Jesi*, &c. &c. were unknown to a great many persons—that he should *then* have been called a hero, by those who, unable to judge for themselves, constantly follow the public opinion, we do not wonder. Dazzled by his victories, they did not investigate the causes of his rapid successes; they attributed them to his unrivalled abilities, and pronounced him a hero; but *now*, that truth has unveiled his horrible and innumerable crimes; now, that he is convicted of having committed

mitted deeds, at which *Anthropophagi* would shudder; is there a man who would dare to stand forth as the admirer of *Buonaparte*? No Briton will, we are convinced. Equally generous and merciful, he must abhor the wretch, who respects neither age nor sex:—he must execrate *Buonaparte* as the destroyer of mankind—as the tyrant, who beholds with equal apathy the fall of thousands of *his own* men, and the deliberate murder of his enemies.

CHAP. VI.

Buonaparte is successful in several Battles against the Arch-duke Charles.—Treaty of Campo Formio.—The Venetian States seized and pillaged.—Buonaparte's mode of giving Liberty demonstrated. An instance of HIS meekness, &c.

PRINCE Charles, the new Commander of the *Austrian* army in *Italy*, had distinguished himself in 1796, he then commanded the forces which were opposed to General *Jourdan*, whom he defeated several times. He found a powerful opponent in General *Moreau*, but even against him, Prince *Charles* was successful. He took *Kehl*, and acquired such military fame

same, that, he was universally considered as the only General who could arrest *Buonaparte* in his victorious career. We have already pointed out the cause which prevented the *Archduke* from achieving that desirable event; it remains for us only to give a slight sketch of the campaign of 1797, and then follow *Buonaparte* to new scenes of rapine and desolation.

The *Archduke Charles* had stationed himself on one side of the *Pavia*, and did every thing which his situation, and the force of his army could admit, to prevent the *French* army from passing that river; but, notwithstanding his bravery, he was compelled to retreat with great loss. Fresh troops arriving every day, *Buonaparte* was enabled to pass *Tagliamento*, and again defeat the *Austrians*. At *Gradisco*, *Ceva*, *Sola*, and the defiles of *Caporetto*, the *Archduke* was equally unfortunatè. At *Clausen*, a column of *Austrians* defended themselves with astonishing bravery; but, they were at length forced from their position, after losing many of their men. *Buonaparte* having driven the *Austrian* army from the *Tyrol*, became master of the defiles of *Innsbruck*, and near *Neumark*, he routed a detachment of grenadiers; having been equally successful at *Hundsmark*, nothing seemed to oppose his march to *Vienna*, as the army of the *Arch-duke* was dispersed, and nearly destroyed. When *Buonaparte* had penetrated so far, that his army was only ninety miles from the capital, the Emperor was obliged to offer terms of peace: the preliminaries were signed at *Leoben*, and the treaty of peace, called the treaty of *Campo Formio*, was signed on the 17th of October, of the same year.

It has been asserted by *Buonaparte's* admirers, that no general can be more simple, or less haughty than he is; take the following speech for a specimen; the first article of the preliminaries stated, that the Emperor acknowledged the *French Republic*; *Buonaparte* interrupted the *Austrian* envoy with his usual meekness, and exclaimed, in an elevated tone of voice, "Erase that article—it is useless to say that the Emperor acknowledges the *French Republic*:—*The French Republic is like the Sun in the firmament; blind indeed are those who have not observed its splendor!!!*"

Buonaparte, in common with almost all the generals of the *Sun-like* republic, always issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of every country, which he conquered, or rather pillaged. In these proclamations, the inhabitants were gravely assured, that they were slaves, that their government was extremely tyrannical, and that the *French Republic*, merely from a generous desire of restoring liberty to all oppressed nations, have sent an army to their assistance, to enable them to recover their rights. They were generally desired to remain perfectly quiet, and they should be kindly treated, their properties respected, and their grievances redressed! We have already enumerated several instances of the kind and fraternal manner in which *Buonaparte* treated those countries which he took under his protection, and it will be tolerably evident, that their condition, instead of being ameliorated under his government, became so truly wretched as to command the pity of all the friends of humanity. The Republic of *Venice*, which had stood for ages, unfortunately exhibits another instance of *Buonaparte's* fostering

tering protection, and points out the fallacy and violence of the promises which were holden forth to the miserable inhabitants. The rich city of *Venice* had attracted the cupidity of *Buonaparte*; seeking incessantly for plunder, it was not likely that a city, celebrated for its magnificence, should escape the general fate of *Italy*.—Without the least provocation on the part of the *Venetian* States, *Buonaparte* forced them to pay an enormous contribution; and, not contented with that arbitrary measure, a direct and glaring violation of the rights of nations, he took possession of the city, overturned its government, plundered it, and ordered some *Venetian* nobles to be put to death. He conquered and ravaged every place belonging to the *Venetian* Republic, although it was impossible to him to alledge any just motive for that unprovoked and barbarous attack on a harmless and peaceable State. When *Venice* had been pillaged, and her government overturned, the panegyrists of *Buonaparte* praised him for destroying such an aristocratical government; they pretended, that *Venice*, being called a republic, it ought not to be governed by a *Sovereign*; and that the inhabitants would be much happier after that revolution. Without deigning to answer those *sapient* arguments, we shall content ourselves with observing, that when *Buonaparte* had plundered and desolated the country, he gave it to the Emperor as a consideration for *Belgium*. Thus did a lawless commander attack a State with which he was not at war, pillaged every place in it, destroyed its constitution and government, under the promise of giving liberty to the people; and lastly, when the country was no longer worth keeping, he transferred

ferred it, *without* the consent of the inhabitants, under the dominion of another Sovereign—and *that* has been called, “Giving liberty to the *Venetians* ! !”—*Buonaparte* also sent a body of troops to take possession of the islands of *Cephalonia*, *Zant*, and *Corfu*, and the peaceable inhabitants of those delightful shores, experienced the *blessings* of *Buonaparte's* amity.

We have said, that the treaty of *Campo Formio* was signed on the 17th of October. In one of the conferences which *Buonaparte* had with the *Austrian* Ministers, he gave another instance of his *meekness*, *modesty*, and *politeness*, which we recommend his admirers to record, as a proof that *Buonaparte* is *never* *haughty*. It was surely very meritorious in the *Austrian* Ministers, to endeavour to procure conditions which might be rather more favourable, than the degrading terms to which the Emperor had been forced to submit when the *French* Army was eighty-seven miles from *Vienna*. *Buonaparte*, however, was extremely displeased at their attempts, and, in the most impetuous and passionate manner, he seized a china vase, and, dashing it violently to the ground, said to the *Austrian* Ministers in a furious tone, “If you *refuse* my terms, I will thus reduce you to dust ! !” A sublime instance of gentleness in that hero !

We have followed *Buonaparte* in his campaigns in *Italy*—we have been compelled to record scenes of murder, rapine, and wanton cruelty, which have never been surpassed until the æra of *Buonaparte*. Thus, in the short space of two years, *Piedmont*, *Milan*, *Pavia*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Rome*, *Bologna*, *Venice*, *Tyrol*, &c. &c. were plundered and utterly ravaged by the

"*Hero of Italy!*"—In two years, above a hundred and fifty thousand men were killed in battle, burned, or put to the sword, in cool blood; the deaths of half of them are to be attributed to *Buonaparte's* thirst of blood;—the ruins of *Benafco* still proclaim the fell tyrant; and every spot of *Italy* announces, that he was born to be the scourge of that distracted country.

In the Fructidorian proscription, when *Pichegru*, *Carnot*, *Barthélémy*, &c. were banished without trial, *Buonaparte* concealed his manœuvres so well, that it has never been clearly demonstrated, how far he was concerned in it. There is, however, no doubt that *Buonaparte* was extremely jealous of every man whose military talents rivalled or surpassed his own, particularly, *Pichegru*, *Carnot*, *Moreau*, and *Hoche*, every one of whom have been either banished or destroyed.

CHAP. VII.

Buonaparte returns to Paris with the Ratification of the treaty of Campo Formio.—The Directory is jealous of him.—The Egyptian expedition projected.—Sailing thereof.—Taking of Malta.—Landing of the troops in Egypt, &c.

IN a short time after the treaty of *Campo Formio*, *Buonaparte* arrived in *Paris*, bearing the ratification thereof himself, The Directory made him a
most

most splendid reception; and crowds of people assembled to see the hero of the day; who no sooner appeared, than he was stunned with the loud vociferations of *vive Buonaparte*: the *Parisians* having seemingly forgotten, that two years before, that very man had been the murderer of their own countrymen, and even, perhaps, some of the friends and relations of the spectators. His power, however, encreased with his popularity to such a degree that the Directory began to be extremely uneasy; for he had a numerous army under his command, and he had frequently expressed his disapprobation of the measures pursued by the five Directors; they feared, and that not without just reason, that *Buonaparte* might seize the reins of government, and consequently from an humble tool, become their haughty master. To prevent this, divisions of his army was sent to different parts of the coast, under the pretence of invading Great Britain, and in order to stifle the supposed ambitious projects of *Buonaparte*, they appointed him to the command of what they called, the "Army of England," and for some time they carried on preparations with great activity. It has been asserted, however, that *Buonaparte* peremptorily refused the command of that army, and that such refusal caused much altercation between him and some of the Directors, whose principle aim, indeed, was that of sending *Buonaparte* out of *France*.

We have seen *Buonaparte* commit detestable crimes in his campaigns in *Europe*—We shall now follow him to *Africa* and *Asia*, and we shall find, that although *Buonaparte* in *Italy* surpassed every other tyrant in
cruelty

cruelty and ferocity, he was greatly inferior to *Buonaparte in Egypt*, alias *Ali Buonaparte*. The numerous instances of the most savage cruelty which we shall record, are almost incredible; but we extract them from such unquestionable authorities, that even *Buonaparte's friends* must allow them to be irrefragable.

Various are the opinions of politicians relative to the planning of the expedition to *Egypt*. Many well-informed *Frenchmen* assert, that *Merlin* was the man who proposed it. He is said to have persuaded the other Directors, that it was essentially necessary to send *Buonaparte* out of *France*, as he had plainly perceived that the Conqueror of *Italy* was watching a favourable opportunity to expel the Directors, and place himself at the head of the Government. *Merlin's* colleagues eagerly acceding to his plan, requested *Barras*, (who had more influence on *Buonaparte* than the rest) to paint in brilliant and fascinating colours, the glory which the Conqueror of *Egypt* would acquire, as his name would be immortalised for having, by a bold and masterly manœuvre, achieved a conquest, which, in the end, would destroy the great power of the *English* in the *East Indies*. It is added, that *Barras* exerted his eloquence so successfully, that *Buonaparte* became as eager for the expedition as the Directors themselves, because he thought the descent on *Egypt* extremely easy, and, once there, he knew that he could indulge his rapacious disposition, free from the control of the Directory, and at the same time gratify his inveterate hatred against this country; for it is well known, that *Britons* have always been
fortunate

fortunate enough to be the objects of *Buonaparte's* particular dislike.

Other writers, perhaps the greater number, maintain that *Buonaparte* himself was the projector of the expedition; and though we can scarcely conceive his motive for quitting *France* voluntarily, at a moment when he was very likely to succeed in his ambitious designs, yet we incline to the latter opinion for the following reasons. After the banishment of *Pichegru*, *Carnot*, &c. *Barras* wrote a letter to *Buonaparte* which contained this remarkable passage, "—a more glorious conquest awaits you—you will lead your troops to the shores of Great Britain! and place the standard of Liberty on the Tower of London!" Again, after *Buonaparte's* departure from *Toulon*, some of his friends accused openly the Directory, and particularly *Barras*, to have planned the expedition to *Egypt*, merely to get rid of *Buonaparte*. *Barras* positively denied the charge, and declared, that he and his colleagues strenuously opposed the measure, as they considered it extremely impolitic to send their best army to almost certain destruction. "But," added *Barras*, "*Buonaparte* could not be diverted from his favourite plan, and we were unwilling to speak in a peremptory manner, lest it might prove our ruin." If *Buonaparte* really wished to conquer *Egypt*, he could only be actuated by the two motives we have mentioned, and which have impelled almost all his actions,—plunder, and his hatred of the *English*.

But it is of very little consequence who planned that gigantic expedition; whether it were *Merlin*, *Barras*, *Rexbell*, or *Buonaparte*, it is not less an indelible stain

stain on the character of him or them who propose it. It is such a gross and infamous violation of the rights of civilized nations, that it surpasses any act of unprovoked violence ever committed by the savages of *North America*. In the coalition of the European Powers against *France*, *Turkey* remained perfectly neutral; yet against that very Empire, which had so often manifested its sincere desire of continuing its relations of amity with the *French Republic*, did *Buonaparte* commit the most flagrant outrage, the most barefaced act of rapine that ever disgraced the annals of history. Without ever declaring war against the Grand Seignior, without ever attempting to assign a reason for his unjust conduct, *Buonaparte* took possession of the finest and most extensive part of his dominions, and treated the inhabitants with that cruelty which so eminently distinguishes him from every other tyrant!

When the expedition to *Egypt* was unanimously resolved, *Buonaparte* addressed a proclamation to his soldiers, and seemed to allude to an attack on *Great Britain*; it is evident, he did it with an intention of keeping the greater part of our navy in the *British* channel, in order that the fleet which was intended to convey him to the shores of *Egypt*, might meet with no opposition in the *Mediterranean*. As soon as the armament and squadron were ready, *Buonaparte* departed privately for *Provence*, and on the 30th Floreal, May 20, 1798, the whole fleet set sail. It consisted of thirteen sail of the line, two sixty-fours, armed en flûte, fourteen frigates, and several sloops of war. The transports amounted to above two hundred, and the troops

troops on board have generally been reckoned to be thirty four or thirty five thousand men. By the 10th of June they were in sight of *Gozo*, a small island near *Malta*, and here *Buonaparte* gave another instance of his utter contempt of the sacred rights of nations. *Malta* appeared to him well situated to facilitate the conquest of *Egypt*, and he immediately formed the resolution of seizing it, and wresting it from the hands of the brave knights, who had so often defended it against the *Turkish* armies. It is unnecessary to say; that, the *Maltese* knights had never given the slightest provocation to the *French* republic; for it is well known that they never interfered with the government of other powers, and, except against the *Turks*, they always forebore all acts of hostility. But *Buonaparte*, who had pillaged the *Pope's* dominions, those of the Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, those of the *Venetian* republic, &c. &c. was not to be deterred from his undertaking by the consideration, that, he was acting in a manner which would reflect great disgrace upon him; he thought only of pursuing his ambitious and blood-stained career, and convinced that the capture of *Malta* would greatly forward the success of his designs, he sent to require the Grand Master to allow the ships to take water at the different ports of the island. *Buonaparte* was convinced that the Grand Master would refuse such an unreasonable and inadmissible request, and, says the *French* panegyrist, "it became necessary to have recourse to force!" This puts us in mind of *Alexander*, who, having a mind to take possession of the rich city of *Tyre*, told their ambassadors that he wished to enter the city to visit the

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the temple of *Jupiter*, and fulfil some vows which he had made to *Hercules*; the ambassadors answered, that it was unnecessary to enter the city for that purpose as the temple of *Jupiter* was without the walls of *Tyre*! *Alexander* pretended to be greatly irritated at that answer, and immediately laid siege to *Tyre*, in consequence of that *just provocation*! The siege lasted seven months, the city was obliged to surrender, and the great *Alexander*, to punish the inhabitants for having the impudence of *defending their own country*, ordered two thousand of them to be crucified on the sea shore, and a much greater number was put to the sword! It is a remarkable coincidence, that, *Alexander* took *Tyre* a short time previously to his conquering *Egypt*. We shall likewise find that *Buonaparte* not only imitated *Alexander* in his crimes, but that he greatly surpassed him in his cruelty.

Whether by the treachery of the garrison, or the impetuosity of the *French* troops, the town of *Malta*, which, from its regular fortifications, had been deemed impregnable, surrendered ingloriously after a feeble defence of about ten days! This event was so peculiarly unfortunate, that if *Malta* had resisted *three days* longer, Amiral *Nelson* would have overtaken the *French* fleet, the whole would have been destroyed, and *Buonaparte* taken or killed! Oh, garrison of *Malta*! what torrents of blood have flowed in consequence of your pusillanimity! Had you opposed that foe to mankind but a little longer, the brave *Nelson* would have stopped his career; thousands of *Egyptians*, men, women, and innocent babes, would be still alive; thousands of *Turks* would not have been massacred; the plains

plains of *Jaffa* would not be strewed with the bones of the *poisoned* soldiers; the fields of *Marengo* would not be deluged with blood; and the immortal *Abercromby* would still command his victorious army; Europe would be at peace, and France restored to tranquillity and happiness. How much does an event, apparently trivial, influence the destiny of great and powerful nations! Who would have supposed that the soldiers who composed the garrison of *Malta* were for a few days the arbiters of *Europe*!

It must not be forgotten, that, the Turkish ambassador, who was at *Paris* while the formidable armament was equipping at *Toulon*, frequently and earnestly inquired its destination. He was answered, that it was intended for the reduction of *Malta*, and as he appeared rather uneasy at such extraordinary preparations, he was told by *Buonaparte*, that the *French* government pledged themselves for the truth of his assertion; and he added, that they were so desirous of preserving the friendship which subsisted between them and the Grand Seignior, that it was partly to rid him of his inveterate enemies, the *Maltese*, that the conquest of their island was undertaken! *The good faith and honour of Buonaparte cannot be doubted, after such proofs of his candour!*

After *Buonaparte* had left a strong garrison in the islands of *Malta*, *Goza*, and *Cumino*, he proceeded towards the shores of *Africa*, intending to give the Grand Seignior another proof of his good-will and sincerity, by taking possession of *Egypt*! We have already observed, that Admiral *Nelson* arrived at *Malta* only three days after *Buonaparte's* departure, and immediately

diately pursued the *French* squadron, but unfortunately he could not overtake it.

Before we attempt the Herculean task of enumerating the crimes, the violations, and assassinations, which *Buonaparte* committed and ordered in *Egypt*, we present our readers with two articles, extracted from the orders which *Buonaparte* issued previously to his leaving *Malta*; they will serve to prove, that it is out of the power of that tyrant to treat, with common generosity, even the most harmless inhabitants of the countries which he conquers.

“ Art. 5th. All the *Greeks* of the islands of *Malta*
 “ and *Goza*, and those of the departments of *Ithaca*,
 “ *Corcyra*, and of the *Ægean Sea*, who shall main-
 “ tain any connexion whatever with *Russia*, shall be
 “ put to death !”

“ Art. 6th. All the *Greek* vessels which sail under
 “ *Russian* colours, if they fall into the hands of the
 “ *French*, shall be sent to the bottom !! !”

In the proclamation which *Buonaparte* issued from head-quarters on board *l'Orient*, a few days before his landing on the *Egyptian* Shores, are several passages worthy of observation; they are characteristick of that duplicity which he has always manifested, when on the point of attacking any nation; for it will be easily perceived, that *Buonaparte's* language to an unconquered enemy is not only moderate, but even abounds with kind promises, moral truths, virtuous sentiments, expressions of friendship, good wishes, &c. When the foe is vanquished, or when, dazzled by *Buonaparte's* fair promises, and deluded by his professions of kindness, he submits to his will, then
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does *Buonaparte* resume his natural disposition; he throws aside the mask of hypocrisy, and appears the hardened and merciless tyrant.

PROCLAMATION TO HIS ARMY.

"Soldiers, you are going to undertake a conquest, the effects of which, on the civilization and commerce of the world, are beyond the power of language to enumerate. You will give to *England* so sure and terrible a blow, that it may, in a short time, be followed by the destruction of that country!! We shall experience fatiguing marches, we shall engage in several battles, but success will attend our enterprises, every thing proves, that, the destinies are favourable to our expedition. The people, on whose shores we are going to land, treat their women differently from us—*respect* them! in every country, he who violates the honour of a female, is a monster!

"Pillage enriches only a few! Abstain from it—it would dishonour us! destroy our resources, and render those people our enemies, whom it is our interest to have for our friends."

We entirely agree with *Buonaparte*, that those who do not respect the honour of a female, are *monsters*!—we likewise applaud the justness of his observation, "that pillage enriches only a few."—We know by experience, that, although the pillage of *Italy* had enriched him, *Massena*, *Berthier*, and *Angereau*, the *Soldiers* had not ameliorated their condition; but we would ask, if *Buonaparte* deems every man a *monster* who violates the chastity of a female—if pillage dishonour

honour the soldiers who commit it, what was *Buonaparte* in *Italy*—what were his troops at *Milan*, *Pavia*, *Benafco*, *Venice*, &c. &c.

Notwithstanding *Buonaparte's* wish, that the inhabitants of *Egypt* should attribute those orders to the generosity and clemency of his disposition, it is easy to trace the motive which dictated them, "*It is our INTEREST to have those people for our FRIENDS!!*"

Buonaparte arrived in the road of *Alexandria* on the 2nd of July, 1798, and on the evening of the same day landed his troops. No opposition, whatever, was made to their landing, for although the commander of *Alexandria* had been informed, that the *French* intended to invade *Egypt*, he did not believe it, convinced as he was, that the *French Republic* and the *Ottoman Porte* were at *Peace*; no preparations therefore were made to oppose an army, which, consistently with the rights of civilized nations, he would not expect.

CHAP. VIII.

Buonaparte's first Proclamation in Egypt—with comments on some of the most striking features of it.—Proclamation of the Sublime Porte.

BEFORE we enter into a detail of *Buonaparte's* Military operations in *Egypt*, we particularly recommend to the attentive perusal of our readers, the following proclamation, issued by him on his landing

landing there! some comments are also subjoined, wherein are pointed out the *consistency* of that *hero's* conduct, as well as the *religious* faith with which he keeps his most sacred engagements!

PROCLAMATION.

“ In the name of God, gracious and merciful—there is no God but God; *he has no son or associate in his kingdom!*

“ The present moment which is destined for the punishment of the *Beys*, *has long been anxiously expected*. The *Beys*, coming from the mountains of *Georgia* and *Bajars*, have desolated this beautiful country, *long insulted and treated with contempt the French nation*, and oppressed her merchants in various ways. *Buonaparte*, the General of the *French* republic, according to the *principles of Liberty*, is now arrived; and the Almighty, the Lord of both Worlds, has sealed the destruction of the *Beys*.

“ Inhabitants of *Egypt!* When the *Beys* tell you, that the *French* are come to destroy your religion, believe them not; it is an absolute falsehood.—Answer those deceivers, that they are come *only to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants!* and, that the *French* adore the Supreme Being, and honour the prophet and his holy *Koran*.

“ All men are equal in the eyes of God: understanding, ingenuity, and science, alone make a difference between them: as the *Beys* do not possess any of these qualities, they cannot be worthy to govern the country. Yet they are the only possessors of extensive tracts of land, beautiful female slaves, excellent horses,

horses, magnificent palaces.—Have they received an exclusive privilege from the Almighty? If so, *let them produce it!* But the Supreme Being, who is just and merciful towards all mankind, wills that in future *none* of the inhabitants of *Egypt* shall be prevented from attaining to the first employments, and the highest honours. The Administration, which shall be conducted by persons of intelligence, *clemency*, talents, and foresight, *will be productive of happiness and security*. The tyranny and avarice of the *Beys* have laid waste *Egypt*, which was formerly so populous and well cultivated.

“THE FRENCH ARE TRUE MUSSULMEN!! Not long since they marched to *Rome*, and overthrew the throne of the Pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of Islamism! (Mahometan religion.) Afterwards they directed their course to *Malta*, and drove out the *unbelievers*, who imagined they were appointed by God to make war on the Mussulmen. The *French* have at all times been the *true and sincere friends* of the Ottoman Emperors, and the enemies of their enemies. May the empire of the Sultan, therefore, be eternal; but may the *Beys* of *Egypt*, our opposers, whose insatiable avarice has continually excited disobedience and insubordination, be trodden in the dust, and annihilated!

“Our friendship shall be extended to those inhabitants of *Egypt*, who shall join us, as also to those who shall remain in their dwellings, and observe a strict neutrality; and when they have seen our conduct with their own eyes, *shall hasten to submit to us*; but the dreadful punishment of death awaits those who shall
take

take up arms for the Beys, and *against us!* For then there shall be no deliverance, nor shall any trace of them remain."

" Article I. All places which shall be three leagues distant from the route of the *French* army, shall send one of their principal inhabitants to the *French* general, to declare that they submit, and will hoist the *French* flag, which is blue, white, and red.

" Art. II. *Every village which shall oppose the French army, shall be burned to the ground!!*

" III. Every village which shall submit to the *French*, shall hoist the *French* flag, and that of the *Sublime Porte*, their ally, whose duration be eternal.

" Art. IV. *The Cheiks and principal persons of each town and village, shall seal up the houses and effects of the Beys, and take care that not the smallest article may be lost!*

" Art. V. The Cheiks, Cadis, and Imans, shall continue to exercise their respective functions, and put up their prayers, and perform the exercises of religious worship in the mosques and houses of prayer. *All the inhabitants of Egypt shall offer up thanks to the Supreme Being, and put up public prayers, for the destruction of the Beys.*

" May the Supreme God make the glory of the Sultan of the Ottomans eternal ; pour forth his wrath on the Mamelukes, and render glorious the destiny of the *Egyptian* nation !"

Such a proclamation as this cannot fail to stamp indelible disgrace on the man whose rapacity would dare to issue it forth. A more disgusting composition of folly, atrociousness, and blasphemy, cannot well be imagined.

imagined. The degrading apostacy in the very onset of it, has not its parallel in the history of nations; nor can the least motive be assigned in favour of such a diabolical production, unless we attribute it to the accursed desire of lulling the inhabitants into a false security, whereby *Buonaparte* might be enabled to carry on his plans of ravage and plunder with less danger, and consequently greater rapidity; for he had always hitherto been the strenuous admirer of the Christian religion. When he invaded the papal territories, he wrote to Cardinal *Mathei*, and among other passages in his letter, were the following: "I request you to tell his Holiness, that, as first minister of the Catholic religion, he shall always experience my protection; for it shall be my particular care, never to make any alteration in the religion of our fathers!" Yet this very same man who promises his protection to the Pope, expressly, because he is the first minister of the *Catholic religion*, and who declares, that, it shall be his particular care never to make any alteration in the religion of his fathers, two years after he had made those solemn assertions, and apparently gloried in the name of a Christian, begins his proclamation, by a formal, wanton, and unnecessary act of blasphemy! publicly in the face of all the world, renouncing that Redeemer, whom so short a time before he professed to acknowledge and revere!

"*The present moment has long been anxiously expected.*" By whom? It could not be by the Grand Seignior, for it is not very natural, that he should be anxious to lose the finest parts of his dominions.—It could not be by the *Beys*, since their destruction was

Buonaparte's

Buonaparte's avowed intention.—Was it by the inhabitants of *Egypt*? Alas! they did not know that they were to be the next victim's of *Buonaparte's* rapacity; and had they been informed that he intended to pay them a visit, they certainly would not have fought for the moment of his arrival. By whom then was this present moment so anxiously expected! By *Buonaparte* himself—he had fought for it many days.—He knew, that, when once landed, he would be out of the reach of the brave *Nelson*, whom he had no wish of meeting; beside, on the *Egyptian* shores, he was at full liberty to act as he pleased;—he could indulge his sanguinary and rapacious disposition; he was too remote from the inspection of the directors; and as his pride led him to suppose, that, no power could expulse him from *Egypt*, he anticipated the pleasure of ruling despotically, after having assumed the government of that extensive country. His ambition and his rooted hatred to Great Britain, induced him to hope, that, he could in time, destroy the power of the *English* in the *East Indies*: thus, under every point of view, he must have anxiously expected that moment, although he wished to make it appear, that the *Egyptians* themselves fought for his arrival.

“The Beys have long insulted, and treated with contempt, the French nation!” As it was impossible on the principles of justice and equity, to justify the invasion of *Egypt*, *Buonaparte* had recourse to the most palpable falsehoods, for it is well known, that the *French* had always been kindly treated at *Alexandria*, and other parts of *Egypt*, indeed more than the other European nations. By reading *Sommini* and *Savary's* elegant

gant travels in *Greece* and *Egypt*, any person may easily convince himself of the truth of this assertion; yet, *Buonaparte* attempted to palliate his unparalleled violation of the laws and rights of nations, descends to a mean falsehood, and pretends, that the *Beys* had long insulted the French!

"*The French Republick according to the principles of liberty!*" Whoever has read the account of the massacres of the 10th of August, 1792—Whoever has had courage to peruse the list of the miserable victims who perished under the arch-fiend *Robespierre*—Whoever has heard of the massacres at *Toulon*, *Lyons*, *Quiberon*, *Paris*, on the 13th *Vendemiaire*, and the numberless murders and assassinations in *La Vendée*—Whoever has marked the sanguinary tract of *Buonaparte* and his armies, will, we believe, be but little inclined to admit the truth of that assertion.

"*The Almighty, the Lord of both worlds, has sealed the destruction of the Beys.*" Infamous blasphemy! Because *Napoleon Buonaparte* had formed a plan of pillage and rapacity; because he wantonly attacked the *Beys*, from whom he had never received any provocation, he dared to advance that the All-Righteous and All-Merciful Being had sealed their destruction!

"*Tell the Beys that the French are come only to rescue the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants!*" This is indeed adding insult to cruelty. *Buonaparte*, whose only aim was **PLUNDER**, dares to tell the miserable inhabitants of *Egypt*, that, he comes to restore them their rights; and, that, it is merely to ameliorate their condition, that, he has landed on their coasts

coasts with forty thousand soldiers. Unfortunate *Egyptians* ! if any of you were weak enough to believe *Buonaparte's* words, how cruelly you were undeceived ! how you must have execrated the perfidious invader, who, three days after he told you, that, he *was come to restore you to happiness*, ORDERS A GENERAL MASSACRE OF THE GARRISON OF ALEXANDRIA, and GIVES UP THE TOWN TO PILLAGE ! !

"The French honour the Prophet and his holy Koran!"

Buonaparte probably persuaded, that, professing a regard for the Mahometan creed, would greatly facilitate the conquest of *Egypt*, took every opportunity of avowing his contempt for the Christian religion, and seemed to glory as much in the name of a *Mussulman*, as he had formerly done in that of a *Christian*, when it was his interest to deceive the venerable *Pius* the Sixth ! What confidence can be reposed in that man, who changes his profession of faith, as often as he finds it profitable or convenient !

"Have they received an exclusive privilege from the Almighty? If so let them PRODUCE it!" If any thing were wanting to increase the general detestation of *Buonaparte's* conduct, his frequent and wanton blasphemies would consign him to the execration of every friend to religion and morality.

"The administration, which shall be conducted by persons of intelligence, CLEMENCY, talents, and foresight, will be productive of HAPPINESS and SECURITY ! !" Will it be believed, that a usurper who attacks, without the least provocation, a country, with which he was at peace, should have the audacity, of telling the inhabitants, "Your administration is inadequate

inadequate to the task of governing you, I shall form a new one, composed of my officers, who will act under my direction; and who by their *clemency* and talents will render you perfectly happy!!" *Buonaparte*, who plundered and sacked every town in *Egypt*—who ordered hundreds of innocent men, women, and children, to be butchered, did not blush to tell those very people, whom he intended to sacrifice, that, under his administration, they would live in *happiness* and *security*! The friends of *Buonaparte* would do well to read this, and prove it to be *false*, ere they ever dare to praise him again!

"*The French are true Mussulmen!*" Not satisfied with avowing himself a detested apostate, *Buonaparte* declared publicly, and upon his honour, that, all the soldiers who composed his army were Mahometans. Thus because he supposed, that, it would revert to his advantage, he did, in the face of the world, utter an *infamous falsehood*, which, he must have known, would soon be contradicted; as it really was, by the spirited proclamation issued by the Sublime Porte.

"*Not long since they marched to Rome, and overthrew the throne of the Pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of the Mahometan religion!!!*" Let our readers compare this contemptible and detestable assertion, with his letters to Pius the Sixth, and Cardinal *Mattei*, and then let them give a name to *Buonaparte's* conduct, for we profess ourselves incapable of applying an epithet forcible enough to describe the atrocious perfidy of it.

"*The French at all times have been the sincere friends of the Ottoman Emperors!*" Proofs of French and
Republican

Republican *amity*—Sending emissaries to *Constantinople* to excite the *Turks* to rebellion ! Sending *Choderlos* to *Aleppo*, and his brother to *Latakia*, in order to propagate their detestable principles—If our readers wish to know whether these men were qualified for traitors and spies, they have only to peruse what *Choderlos* told the *Turks* at *Alleppo*, when they murmured because the *French Republic* had sent an army to *Egypt*; “ You may rest assured that this expedition has been undertaken with the *entire approbation of the Porte*—for from the *strict friendship* which has long existed between the *two Powers*, the *French Republic* would not pursue any measures calculated to give uneasiness to the *Ottoman Court* ! !” These are *unquestionable* proofs of the validity of *Buonaparte’s* assertion; “ *The French have at all times been the true friends of the Grand Seignior* !” The last proof at that time of his *good wishes* towards the Court of *Constantinople* was his landing on the shores of *Egypt*, massacring the garrison of *Alexandria*, and plundering every town in a country belonging to the sovereign, whose *true and sincere friend* he had the unparalleled effrontery to call himself !

“ *Our friendship shall be extended to those who having seen our conduct, shall hasten to submit to us—but the dreadful punishment of death awaits those who shall take up arms against us* ! !” *Buonaparte*, who was aware, that, those who *had seen* his conduct, would not readily join him, concluded his *friendly offer* by declaring, that, *they who took up arms against him, should suffer the dreadful punishment of death* !

In the proclamation here analysed, *Buonaparte* endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants of the country which he had so basely invaded, that, he intended to treat them in the most merciful manner, and that his sole aim, was, the ameliorating of their condition—in the following articles, we shall find, that, *Buonaparte* resumes his ferocious disposition, and once more appears in his proper garb.

“Art. II. *Every village which shall oppose the French army shall be burned to the ground!*”

It is almost incredible, that, even *Buonaparte* should dare to issue such an order—*Englishmen!* attend to the mandate of the tyrant—he tells the *Egyptians*—the unoffending—the harmless *Egyptians*, “I am arrived “on your shores—it is my pleasure to conquer and “devastate your country—if you dare to resist, your “houses shall be burned, and you shall be put to “death!!” He might have added, “And if you submit, your houses shall be plundered—your wives “and children brutally treated, and at length murdered, and the soldiers who compose your garrisons “shall be put to the sword, even when they make no “resistance!”

Such is the language of *Buonaparte*—such the acts of that merciless usurper, who, at this moment threatens to invade the shores of *Albion*; and who has denounced vengeance against EVERY BRITON who may be found in arms!! But will they passively submit to the will of the infuriate *Corfican*?—Will they tamely see the *French* murderers pollute their hallowed soil, and remain tranquil *Spectators* of the violation of their wives, daughters and sisters? or could they patiently behold

behold their mild and virtuous monarch, dragged from the throne of his fathers, and exposed to the merciless insults of *French* regicides! NO—SURELY NOT ONE.—The bare thought of such degradation, would set their blood on fire. As *Englishmen*, protectors of their native land, they would rally round the standard of *British* liberty! raise the sword of Justice and Patriotism, and swear to fight for their KING and COUNTRY until their efforts were crowned by a glorious victory! Every man's device would be, "BETTER TO DIE A BRITISH FREEMAN, THAN LIVE THE SLAVE OF BUONAPARTE."

"Art. III. *Every village which shall submit to the French, shall hoist the French flag, and that of the Sublime Porte, their ally, whose duration be eternal!*" However insulting it may seem, that *Buonaparte* should term the Sublime Porte his ally, while he is invading and ravaging the possessions of the Grand Seignior, it must be allowed, that, *Buonaparte* is consistent, for he has unquestionably given *similar proofs of friendship* to all those powers which he has *honoured* with the title of *allies*, such as *Helvetia*, *Holland*, the *Italian States*, &c. He has uniformly levied enormous contributions, and in every respect he has treated them worse than any other commanders treat their *foes*! It is easy to infer how *Buonaparte* behaves to vanquished enemies, while his *friendship* is productive of such advantages.

"Art. IV. *The Cheiks and principal persons of each town and village shall seal up the houses and effects of the Beys, AND TAKE CARE, THAT NOT THE SMALLEST ARTICLE SHALL BE LOST! A person unacquainted with*

with *Buonaparte's* character, would naturally exclaim, "Why that particular charge? Was it *honesty* that dictated it?" And *we* would as naturally answer, "No, it was *rapaciousness*, as in that case *Buonaparte's* *booty would be richer!*"

"Art. V.——*All the inhabitants of Egypt shall offer up thanks to the Supreme Being, and put up publick prayers for the destruction of the Beys!*" Detestable blasphemy! *Buonaparte*, who had *professed* Christianity in *Italy*, Mahometanism in *Egypt*, and who really was an Atheist—whose avowed intention was the ruin and pillage of *Egypt*, does not scruple to order the inhabitants to *thank God for his arrival!* For the arrival of a tyrant, who *had publicly renounced his God!!* And he completes the measure of his villainy, by ordering them to pray for the *destruction of their mild rulers, the Beys!* Thus, if it were possible, that he ever should land on the shores of *Britain*, would the haughty despot order us, my countrymen, to return thanks to the Almighty for our slavery! Thus, would he command the degraded *Britons* to mock the Majesty of the Omnipotent, by praying for the *prosperity of Buonaparte*, and the *downfal of our lawful monarch!* Forbid it Heaven! We here close the remarks upon *Buonaparte's first* proclamation, and we entertain no doubt of the effect which its perusal will produce in the breasts of every *Briton*:—Loudly will they exclaim, "*Buonaparte is a monster!*" If perfidy, cruelty, rapine, atheism, apostacy, and duplicity, be necessary to constitute a monster.

In the general orders which *Buonaparte* issued pre-
 previously to his landing, we find some articles worthy
 of

of him; the following will serve as specimens, which are faithfully transcribed :

“ Art. II. *All the Mamalukes shall be arrested, and brought to the head quarters of the army.*” Still must we repeat the questions : “ What crime had the *Mamalukes* committed ? Had they insulted or ill-treated “ any subjects of the *French Republic* ? ” It is very well known, that they had never been guilty of any act of hostility towards the *French*.—Then, why attack them ? Why order them to be arrested ? Why put them to a cruel death ? Because *Buonaparte* aspires to universal power—because he despises the rights of nations, and because he is never so happy as when he beholds the execution of those who are *criminal* enough to endeavour to protect their country against his *friendly* and *merciful* irruptions !

“ *All the towns and villages shall be disarmed; all “ the horses shall be put in requisition, and shall be immediately delivered to the chiefs of cavalry brigades, “ &c.*” Unfortunate Egyptians, these were the *benefits* which you received from that man, who had ordered you to tell the *Beys*, “ *That he was come to rescue “ the rights of the poor from the hands of their tyrants!*” These were the *blessed effects* of that administration, which was composed of “ *persons of intelligence, cle- “ mency, and talents,*” and which was to be “ *productive of happiness and security !*”

We conclude this chapter by presenting our readers with the proclamation issued by the *Sublime Porte*, when the news of *Buonaparte's* unparalleled violation of the laws of nations reached *Constantinople*. It is not only valuable from the force of its diction ; but also,

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because

because it places the designs, and the infamous falsehoods of *Buonaparte*, in such a conspicuous point of view, that it naturally increases the detestation with which his proceedings inspire every friend to justice and humanity.

“ All *Europe* knows that the *Sublime Porte* has long continued at peace with *France*, and that it not only has preserved the strictest amity with that country, but that it has done every thing in its power to maintain it, and to give proofs of its sincere good wishes towards the *French Republick*. With the greatest surprise, therefore, has it seen the *Turkish* territories unexpectedly, and in a most extraordinary manner, attacked by the *French* arms. A man of the name of *Buonaparte*, who calls himself a *French General*, has invaded the *Turkish* province of *Egypt*. The *Porte* cannot believe that such a proceeding, which is so contrary to the rights of all nations, has been countenanced, much less commanded, by the *French Executive Government*. A considerable force has been sent to *Egypt*, against the invaders. Some of the emissaries of *Buonaparte* have pretended to persuade the people of *Egypt*, that they have been sent by *Mahomet* to give them perfect liberty and happiness, and render their religion the principal religion upon earth; but the people have answered, that *Mahomet* authorises no injustice, and that they can place no faith in such promises from those who have denied their God, and renounced their own Prophet !”

CHAP. IX.

The storming of Alexandria.—Massacre of the innocent Inhabitants.—Buonaparte avows his intentions are only to chastise the Beys.—His charge against them.—Fate of most of the unfortunate Prisoners.

AS soon as Buonaparte had landed his troops, he proceeded to attack *Alexandria*. And here again we find ourselves compelled to record further instances of Buonaparte's thirst of blood. We find the "*Hero of Italy!*" beginning his campaign in *Egypt* by the most lawless outrage that ever disgraced a tyrant—giving orders for the *indiscriminate massacre of men, women, children, and babes at the breast!* Such is the man under whose *clement administration the Egyptians were to live in happiness and security!* Worthy the *Conqueror of Lodi!* we find him likewise wantonly and inhumanly cause the death of one hundred and fifty of his own soldiers, when he could have saved their lives by a few words. In fact, we find Buonaparte acting in *Egypt* in conformity with his conduct in every other country that has unfortunately fallen under his galling yoke.

In describing the *storming of Alexandria*, and the conduct of Buonaparte after the *Turks* and *Egyptians* had surrendered, we shall first examine the account which the *accurate panegyrist of Buonaparte* has given; it runs as follows :

The

“ — The army was thirty thousand strong. In
 “ the night they reached *Alexandria*, and at day-break
 “ the attack commenced. General *Kleber* set out
 “ from *Pompey's Pillar* to *scale* the wall, and while
 “ General *Bon* forced the gate of *Rosetta*, General
 “ *Menou* blockaded the triangular castle with a part
 “ of his division, and went with the rest against
 “ another part of the enclosure, and forced it! —
 “ General *Marmont*, with a demi-brigade, drove in
 “ by force the gate of *Rosetta*! Before the end of the
 “ day, THE CITY WAS CALM! The two castles capi-
 “ tulated, and the French found themselves in com-
 “ plete possession of the forts and harbours of *Alexan-*
 “ *dria*! THE INHABITANTS OF ALEXANDRIA
 “ WERE TREATED WITH THE GREATEST GENE-
 “ ROSITY!!! *Buonaparte* issued several proclama-
 “ tions, calculated to render the stay of the *French*
 “ troops agreeable to the inhabitants of the country!
 “ He then wrote to the Pacha of *Egypt*, and the
 “ Governor of the *Caravella*, to inform them, that,
 “ he had come into *Egypt* with no other view than to
 “ chastise the *Beys*, and deliver the inhabitants from the
 “ tyranny of these men!!” Thus far the *French* eulo-
 gift. But Adjutant General *Royer*, in a letter to Ge-
 neral *Kilmaine*, gives an account of this heroic event,
 in terms very different from those which we have just
 quoted, the authenticity of which may be relied on.
 “ When you know the kind of enemy which we had
 “ to combat, the little art which they employed
 “ against us, and the perfect nullity of all their mea-
 “ sures, our expedition and our victories will appear
 “ to you very common things. We began by mak-
 “ ing

“ ing an assault upon *Alexandria*, a place *without any*
 “ *defence*, and garrisoned by about *five hundred Jani-*
 “ *zaries*, of whom scarcely a man knew how to level a
 “ musket ! *Alexandria* is a huge and a wretched ske-
 “ leton of a place, OPEN ON EVERY SIDE ! and most
 “ certainly very unable to resist the efforts of *twenty-*
 “ *five thousand men*, who attacked it at the same in-
 “ stant. We lost, notwithstanding, an hundred and
 “ fifty men, EVERY ONE OF WHOM WE MIGHT HAVE
 “ PRESERVED BY ONLY SUMMONING THE TOWN !
 “ —but it was thought necessary to begin by striking ter-
 “ ror into the enemy !”

From this indisputably correct statement, the *valorous achievement* of storming *Alexandria* loses a little of its fame—and we know not how *Buonaparte's* panegyrist will reconcile the glaring contradictions between *his* account and *that* of *Royer*.—The great merit of forcing the gate of *Rosetta*, *scaling a wall*, *forcing another part of the enclosure*, &c. diminishes very much when we are informed, that ALEXANDRIA IS OPEN ON EVERY SIDE ! It is almost a pity, that the forcing of the gate of *Rosetta* should have taken place only in the historian's imagination, for he was so pleased with the *heroick deed*, that he has made *two* Generals force it—“ *General Bon*, he says, *forced the gate of Rosetta*,” Bravo General *Bon* ! but that imaginary gate of *Rosetta* must have stood very firmly, for, says the delighted historian, in the very same page, “ *General Marmont*, “ *with a demi-brigade drove in by force the gate of Rosetta !*” We know not whether General *Bon* or General *Marmont* had the greater right to the *distinguished*

guished honour of forcing the gate of a place OPEN ON EVERY SIDE!!!

To the assertions of the above *respectable flatterer*,
*"That the city was calm, and that the inhabitants of
 Alexandria were treated with the greatest generosity;"*
 we shall likewise oppose the irrefragable authority of
 Adjutant-General Royer.

—"The *Turks*, repulsed on every side, betake
 themselves to God and their Prophet—and fill their
 mosques—men, women, old, young, children at the
 breast, all are massacred!!—at the end of four hours!
 the fury of our troops ceases!" This is what a
French adulator dares to call, "treating the inhabi-
 tants with the greatest generosity!" This is the man-
 ner in which *Buonaparte* treats enemies who had sur-
 rendered—and *what* enemies? Inoffending *Turks* and
Egyptians, who had never molested a *French* Republi-
 can, and who were subjects of a power which was on
"terms of the strictest amity" with *France*! But sup-
 pose for a moment, that the *Turks* had ill treated the
French;—we even farther suppose, that *Buonaparte's*
 invasion of *Egypt* can be justified,—*what crime had*
the women and children at the breast committed? Yet
Buonaparte ordered them to be massacred! Execra-
 ble monster! *That is the man who threatens to invade*
Old England, and menaces TO PUT EVERY BRITON
TO DEATH WHO MAY BE FOUND IN ARMS!

A *French* officer, in a letter to his brother, observed,
 that, "*the few inhabitants who remained, were exceed-
 ingly astonished at finding, that, we did not cut their
 throats!*" And well they might be astonished—after
 beholding their friends, relations, wives, children, &c.
 cruelly

ruelly and wantonly butchered during four hours, the few who remained, had every reason to wonder at their becoming the victims of *Buonaparte's* horde of murderers.

Another officer, though he confirms the dreadful massacre, endeavours to palliate the hellish deed by the following observation.—“ Our soldiers, *eager to avenge the death of their companions*, have unmercifully put to the sword, all the *Turks* who had “ taken refuge in the mosques !” According to that infamous and diabolical doctrine, all *victorious* armies ought to cut to pieces their prisoners, to avenge the death of those who fell in battle ! ! That *Buonaparte* wishes to pursue a plan so congenial to *his* soul, is evident by the threats which he has fulminated against *Great Britain* !

The remark, “ *Eager to avenge the death of their companions, &c.*” leads us to consider *Buonaparte's* conduct towards his own men at the taking of *Alexandria*—Deluded, misguided soldiers ! it was not on the unfortunate *Turks* that you ought to have avenged the death of your friends—it was on the cruel commander who might so easily have preserved the life of every one by only summoning the town ! For it is very certain, that, five hundred *Janizaries*, in an unfortified town, and attacked by nearly thirty thousand soldiers, would not have refused to surrender. But *Buonaparte* in that case, would have had no plea for ordering the massacre of the miserable inhabitants of *Alexandria*, and he was determined to indulge his sanguinary disposition, even at the expense of the lives of men who

had

had fought under him for three years, and whom he pretended to *love*!

After *Alexandria* had been taken;—after the butchery of several hundreds of the inhabitants, “General Buonaparte,” says the historian, “issued several proclamations calculated to render the stay of the French troops AGREEABLE to the inhabitants!” Our readers, who have perused *Buonaparte’s* proclamation, will not, we imagine, coincide in opinion with the French sycophant; but what will they think of the Corsican, who, “dripping with gore,” writes to the pacha of Egypt, and tells him, *that he is come with no other view than to chastise the Beys and deliver the inhabitants from tyranny!* Of what materials is *Buonaparte* made! he ordered the *Turks*, their women, and infants, to be massacred, and he has the unparalleled audacity, *after that*, to tell the pacha of Egypt, that, his intention is to deliver the inhabitants from the tyranny of the *Beys*!! In *twenty years*, the *Beys* had not committed so many crimes, so many murders as *Buonaparte* committed in *one day*!

Before we quit the blood-stained ruins of *Alexandria*, we must lay before our readers the letter which the immaculate *Napoleon Buonaparte* wrote to the commander of the Caravel at *Alexandria*—it is worthy of the “*Hero of Italy*!”

“The *Beys* have loaded our merchants with exactions, and I am come to demand reparations! I shall be at *Alexandria* to-morrow, but this ought not to alarm you. You are a subject of our great friend, the Sultan, conduct yourself accordingly; but if you commit the slightest act of hostility against the French army,

army, I shall treat you as an enemy, and you will have none to blame for it but yourself; for such a thing is *far from my intention, and from my heart!* Yours, BUONAPARTE."

The first line of this *remarkable* letter puts us in mind of the fable of the wolf and the lamb.—The wolf was *determined* to quarrel with the lamb, that, he might have an opportunity of *devouring* him; and for that purpose he accused him of fouling the water which he drank. "It is impossible," answered the lamb, "for the water flows from you to me."—As that argument was unanswerable, the wolf had recourse to another complaint—"I know that thou didst speak ill of me *six months ago.*"—"Upon my honour, *I was not born six months ago,*" said the lamb. "Oh, then, it was thy *brother,*" replied the wolf. "I have *no brother.*"—"Then it was some of thy relations, and thou must die for *them.*" He then tore the poor innocent lamb to pieces.—Thus it was with *Buonaparte*. He had no *just* cause of complaint against the *Egyptians*.—Not knowing what to urge, he told the commander of the Caravel, "*The Beys have loaded our merchants with exactions, &c.*" he took care not to dwell upon the accusation—he knew, that, it must have vanished in air, and he therefore concluded by saying, that, "*he was come to demand reparation!*" He did not attempt to prove his accusation, as he was aware that it was impossible, he only asserted that it was true, and that he was determined to punish the *Beys!*

"*I shall be at Alexandria to-morrow, but this ought not to alarm you.*" We know not whether the commander of the Caravel was really alarmed when he

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heard

heard of *Buonaparte's* approach, but this we know, that, if he had foreseen *Buonaparte's* sanguinary deeds, he would have *sufficient cause* for apprehension!

"*You are a subject of our great FRIEND the Sultan, conduct yourself accordingly!*" The unhappy commander of the Caravel *really* conducted himself as became the *subject* of the Sultan—he endeavoured to defend the place, which had been intrusted to his care, against a foreign and rapacious enemy; but *Buonaparte*, instead of praising his fidelity, treated him in the most merciless manner!

"*If you commit the slightest act of hostility against the French army, I shall treat you as an enemy, though such a thing is far from my intention, &c.*" Our readers have had many opportunities of observing, that, *Buonaparte* deems every resistance to his lawless pillage, "*an act of hostility!*" With more propriety, he might have used the following words; "I come to plunder and devastate the place, which is under your command—if you dare to oppose me, you and your soldiers shall be put to death.—Such is my intention." At least he would not have insulted the *Turks* with a *shew* of clemency!

The acts of rapine and ferocity which *Buonaparte* committed at *Alexandria*, are so numerous, that, we should never have done if we attempted to particularize them.—We cannot, however, omit his refinement of cruelty relative to hostages. The few inhabitants who remained after the massacre (and who, according to Jaubert's words, "*were astonished to find, that, they were SUFFERED to LIVE!*") were not permitted to embrace their children!—*Buonaparte* ordered them

them to deliver them as hostages—as pledges of their pacific intentions!! Those unfortunate children were sent on board *L'Orient*, and horrid to tell, it appears, that, **THEY ALL PERISHED IN THE EXPLOSION OF THAT SHIP ON THE FIRST OF AUGUST!!**

Another instance of *Buonaparte's* behaviour must not pass unnoticed.—*Coraim*, a Cheriff, was arrested and brought before the tyrant, who being extremely desirous of propagating the infernal principles of Jacobinism among the inhabitants of *Egypt*, that, he might meet with less resistance from the mass of the people, endeavoured to seduce *Coraim* from his allegiance to his country; for that purpose *Buonaparte* presented him with a tri-coloured scarf, and promised to reward him, if he would speak in favour of the *French* army, and try to persuade the inhabitants, that, *Buonaparte's* arrival would make them all happy! In other words, he offered him a considerable recompense *if he would betray his country!* *Coraim*, who had had but too many opportunities of judging *Buonaparte's* sanguinary disposition, was afraid of irritating him, and promised to comply with his wishes—the *merciful Buonaparte* ordered him to be released. When *Coraim* found himself at liberty, he corresponded with the *Mamlukes*, instead of fulfilling the promise which the fear of death had extorted from him. As soon as *Buonaparte* knew it, he ordered some of his satellites to seize him, and carry him on board the *L'Orient*; he gave directions to Admiral *Brueys* to confine *Coraim* very closely until further orders—*Brueys*, who was a brave and generous man, set the man at liberty, as soon as he found that he was innocent. This was a few hours
previous

previous to the memorable engagement at *Aboukir*, therefore General *Buonaparte* could not testify his displeasure to the unfortunate *Brueys*, but *Menou*, one of *Buonaparte's* favourite generals, ordered *Coraim* to be once more arrested, and *he was never seen more!*

Twelve miserable *Mumalukes*, who were also sent as prisoners on board *L'Orient*, probably suffered the same fate as the wretched hostages, *for they have never been heard of!* but we should never have done if we enumerated *Buonaparte's* sanguinary and diabolical deeds in *Alexandria*, and on the coast of *Egypt*—we shall therefore follow him to new scenes of desolation, as he advanced in that ill fated country; but we cannot help quoting the words of an eminent writer on the subject. After having related the horrid massacre of the garrison at *Alexandria*, he concludes thus, “These, “then, are the triumphs of the *Hero of Italy!* On “him, and his sanguinary admirers, be the blood of “this innocent people; and the ineffable contempt “and abhorrence that naturally follow cruelties, without motive or end, and base and abject panegyrics “on their savage perpetrators!”

CHAP. X.

Buonaparte sets out for Cairo, and experiences a difficult March.—Battle of Rahmanie.—Battle of Cherbressa.—Battle of the Pyramids.—Surrender of Cairo.—Buonaparte finds Corn in Egypt.—some remarks thereon.

THE divisions of General *Kleber* having taken possession of *Rosetta*, *Buonaparte* set out for *Cairo*; and the troops experienced inconceivable hardships in marching through the desert, which they were compelled to cross to reach *Damankhour*. The following description of their sufferings, by one of their principal officers, will serve to shew the "*happiness and security*," that the *Egyptians* enjoyed under *Buonaparte*! and, at the same time, it will prove how little he valued the lives of his own soldiers.——" Leaving *Alexandria* " to ascend the *Nile*, we crossed a desert as bare as " my hand, where, at every three or four leagues, we " found a paltry well of brackish water. Imagine the " situation of an army obliged to pass these arid plains, " which do not afford the slightest shelter against the " intolerable heat which prevails there. The soldiers, " loaded with provisions, found themselves, before " they had marched an hour, so overcome with heat, " and the weight that they carried, that, they threw " away every thing which added to their fatigues, " without thinking of the succeeding day. Thirst " attacked

“attacked them—they had not a drop of water!
 “Others were seized with raging hunger, and had not
 “a bit of bread! It was amidst the horrors of that
 “faithful picture, that, *we beheld several of our soldiers*
 “*die of hunger, of thirst, and of heat; others who saw*
 “*the sufferings of their comrades, blew out their own*
 “*brains; others threw themselves, loaded as they were,*
 “*into the Nile, and voluntarily perished in the water!*”

“Every day of our march, these dreadful scenes
 “were renewed; and, what, was never heard of before
 “—what is almost incredible, the army during a
 “march of seventeen days, never tasted bread!
 “Many of the officers fared no better—frequently
 “worse—for the privates **PLUNDERING THE VILLAGES**
 “**OF EVERY ARTICLES OF SUBSISTENCE**, often
 “reduced their officers to satisfy themselves with the
 “refuse of their voracity!”

One of the Savants who accompanied *Buonaparte*, in giving a description of their march to *Cairo*, acknowledges, that, “*Every village which resisted, was destroyed, and the inhabitants severely punished!*” But he adds, that, “the inhabitants of those villages that submitted, were *much better treated! only part of their provisions being taken from them! AND ONLY A FEW OF THEIR WIVES AND DAUGHTERS RAVISHED!!*”

The march from *Alexandria* to *Cairo*, as described by *Buonaparte's* historian, presents as many features of authenticity, as any part of that faithful journal; he says, that, “The division of General *Desaix* was attacked by a body of *six thousand* Mamelukes near *Rahmanie*, but after the loss of some men, they
 “thought

"*thought proper to retire!*" The truth is, that, instead of *six thousand*, there were only *two thousand*! Take Adjutant General *Royer's* own words, "*Two thousand Mamelukes* advanced against our right, commanded by General *Desaix* and *Reynier*! I never saw so furious a charge—they gave their horses the reins, and rushed on our divisions like a torrent, and pushed in between them! Our soldiers, firm and immoveable, let them come withing ten paces, and then began a running fire, accompanied with some discharges of artillery—in a moment, more than one hundred and fifty fell, the rest sought their safety in flight. They returned, however, to the charge, and were received in the same manner. Wearied out at length by our resistance, they turned, and attacked our left wing!" This account, indisputably more correct than that given by *Buonaparte's* panegyrist, is notwithstanding strongly tinctured with *French gasconading*. It is not easy to conceive how the *Mamelukes* succeeded in "*pushing between the divisions*," while "*the soldiers remained immoveable!*" And "*men who seek their safety in flight*," do not immediately "*return to the charge*;" and still less after an obstinate resistance, do they violently attack the other wing of the conquering army. We can infer from that, the excessive loss, that the *French* army must have sustained in fighting with the *Mamelukes*, who, says contemptuously the *French* historian, "*thought proper to retire after the loss of some men!*"

Morad Bey, at the head of about three thousand men, had posted himself at *Cherbressa*, and awaited the approach of the *French*. He had a flotilla of seven gun-boats,

gun-boats, in order to prevent the *French* gun-boats and gallies from proceeding any further up the *Nile*, *Emanuel Perree*, who commanded the *French* flotilla, was immediately ordered by *Buonaparte* to attack *Morad Bey's* gun-boats—The engagement was extremely severe, and would have ended in the total defeat of *Monsieur Perree*, if the *French* army had not arrived, and supported its naval force. It will not be unentertaining to quote extracts from the dispatches of two *French* officers of rank, who were present at the engagement, and contrast them with the account given by the exaggerating historian, who has given himself so much trouble to praise and to please his *merciful* master, *Nepoleon Buonaparte*.

“*Morad Bey*,” says this *accurate relater of wonders*,
 “had *ten* large armed sloops, and *several* batteries on
 “the *Nile*; *Perree*, chief of the maritime division,
 “with three armed sloops, a xebec, and a demi-
 “galley, failed to attack the hostile flotilla. After an
 “obstinate engagement, in which the chief of division
 “was wounded in the arm by a cannon shot, he effected
 “the recovery of *three* armed sloops, and a *demi-galley*,
 “which the *Mamelukes* had taken, and he set fire to
 “their Admiral's ship!!!” It is inconceivable, that
 men should degrade themselves, by writing such glaring
 and palpable falsehoods. Our readers will observe, that
 while *Monsieur Perree* had under his command *three*
armed sloops, a xebec, and a demi-galley, he COULD
 NOT DEFEND HIMSELF against his adversaries, for he
 lost the *three sloops* and the *demi-galley*; but, as soon
 as they had been captured, and, that consequently the
French force consisted of only a *solitary xebec*, *Monf.*
Perree's energies redoubled so amazingly, that with *that*
single

single xebec he totally defeated a force, against which he had failed *when he had four ships more!!*

Now for Monsieur *Perreé's* own account in a letter to Admiral *Brueys*:—

“ On the 13th of July we fell in with the enemy’s force, at break of day. I had with me three gun-boats, the galley, and the *Cerf*. The enemy had *seven* gun-boats! The action began at nine; *two* of my gun-boats and the galley were run on shore, and *quitted by the crews*, on account of the *terrible* fire which the enemy opened upon us from their boats. The enemy were already in possession of them, but the brisk fire from the *Cerf*, and the *remaining* gun-boats!! obliged them to abandon their prey! I sunk the vessel which carried their flag; confusion immediately took place, and they had only time to make their escape. *Had not three of my best vessels been obliged to give way, I should certainly have destroyed the whole flotilla!!*”

Unfortunately for the panegyrist of the First Consul, Monsieur *Perreé* did not know, that it would be thought necessary to double the force of the Mameluke’s flotilla, in order to increase *Buonaparte's* glory, and he therefore contented himself with stating the number of their gun-boats pretty accurately, and instead of *TEN large armed sloops!* he modestly acknowledges there were only *SEVEN gun-boats!* Yet though we praise Monsieur *Perreé's* accuracy in that respect, we confess ourselves wholly unable to understand ~~his~~ *one* part of his dispatches; he says, “I had *three* gun-boats, a galley, and the *CERF*—*two* of my gun-boats, and *the galley*, were run on shore, and quitted by the crew, &c.” Most

of our readers *will fall in the same error* as we did—they will suppose, that after *Monsieur Perrée* had lost *two gun-boats and the galley*, he had only *one gun-boat and the Cerf* under his orders! Yet *Monsieur Perrée* assures us, that “the enemy were at last obliged to “abandon their prey, in consequence of the brisk fire “from the *Cerf*, and the *remaining gun-boats*!” One of *Monsieur Perrée’s* expressions put us strongly in mind of *Buonaparte’s* vaunting dispatches while General of the army of *Italy*; “Had not three of my best “vessels been obliged to give way,” says *Perrée*; “I “should certainly have destroyed the whole of their “flotilla!” It is impossible to read that without comparing it to a passage in an old play; “How do you “find yourself, neighbour?” “If it were not for a “*dreadful fit of the gout, a severe head-ache, and a “very violent pain in my stomach, I should be perfectly “well!*”

We have observed a very great difference between *Monsieur Perrée’s* and the *French historian’s* account of that engagement. We shall now transcribe Adjutant General *Royer’s*, and we are persuaded, that, our readers will not feel inclined to attach an implicit degree of credit to *French* dispatches;——“At day-
“break,” says *Royer*, “I discovered *SIX TURKISH “SHALLOPS* bearing down upon me; at the same
“time, I was re-inforced by a demi-galley—I drew
“out my fleet to meet them, and at half after four, a
“cannonade began between us—it lasted five hours:
“in spite of the enemy’s superiority, I made head
“against them—they continued nevertheless to advance
“upon me, and I lost for a moment the demi-
“galley

"galley and one of the gun-boats! Yielding however
 "was out of the question—it was absolutely necessary
 "to conquer—in this dreadful moment our army came
 "up, and I was disengaged. One of our enemy's
 "vessel's blew up—Such was the termination of our
 "naval engagement."—*These ten large armed sloops*
 were reduced by Monsieur Perrée to seven gun-boats!
 Adjutant General Royer again reduces them—"Six
Turkish Shallops!" It is fortunate for our accurate his-
 torian, that no other person wrote an account of that
celebrated engagement—the ten large sloops would most
 probably have dwindled to three gun-boats! However
 it will be perceived, that if the French army had not
 arrived in time to support its half vanquished flotilla,
 Monsieur Perrée would not have had the trouble of
 writing any dispatches!

Morad Bey had ordered the Mamalukes to throw up
 an entrenchment in the village of Embabet, on the
 left bank of the Nile; in this they placed some pieces
 of cannon; and it was defended by a few undisciplined,
 but, very courageous soldiers, in a manner that
 astonished the French troops. Buonaparte ordered
 two divisions to force that entrenchment, and after
 some loss, they succeeded. A corps of six hundred
 Mamalukes charged repeatedly and desperately, but
 they were unable to penetrate through the ranks of an
 army more than ten times their number.—After losing
 nearly half of their men, (the French historian says
 TWO THOUSAND!!) they fled towards Upper Egypt,
 after having set fire to their flotilla. This victory was
 dignified by Buonaparte with the appellation of the
 battle of the Pyramids!

On the 23d of July the city of *Grand Cairo* surrendered to the *French* troops. Some idea may be formed of the *bravery* of its inhabitants when it is known, that, *Dupius* at the head of two companies of grenadiers entered the city without meeting any *resistance*. It was probably their inconceivable pusillanimity which entitled them to *Buonaparte's* particular approbation, for in his proclamation, he says, "Inhabitants of *Cairo*! I am satisfied with your conduct!" Thus we see, that, the means of meriting *Buonaparte's* praises, are those that would draw down the contempt and execration of every great man, cowardice, and treachery!

Four days after *Buonaparte* had taken possession of *Cairo*, he wrote to General *Kleber*, at *Alexandria*; we subjoin several extracts of that letter, as they are of the greatest importance, and exhibit the contradictory falsehoods of *Buonaparte's* dispatches to the Directory, but above all, they prove him, unquestionably, the most rapacious invader that ever desolated a country. When *Malta* was captured by his troops, *Buonaparte* according to his laudable custom, carried away all the gold and silver that he could find. The publick treasury was kept in the church of St. John, and it proved a very valuable booty to *Buonaparte*. He ordered the gold and silver to be melted, and made into ingots, which he took with him to *Egypt*; after the massacre of the garrison of *Alexandria*, his name was so universally execrated by the *Turks* and *Egyptians*, that, he deemed it politick to affect a sort of honesty in his dealings with the merchants in and around *Alexandria*. Having sent for them, he enumerated

merated several articles of which he was in want, and told them, that, they should be *generously* paid for them.—When he mentioned the ingots, the poor merchants rather objected to that mode of payment, but they soon became convinced, that, if they refused to take the ingots, *Buonaparte* would plunder them of every article; they therefore consented, and *Buonaparte* departed for *Cairo*, with a large quantity of specie, which he had obtained by forcing upon the *Egyptian* merchants the ingots which he had plundered from the *Maltese*! It is well known, that the villages of the *Egyptians* were surrounded with heaps of corn, grain, &c. although that corn was the only sustenance of the poor inhabitants, *Buonaparte* did not scruple to order his men to strip the villages, not only of the corn, but even of every nutritive article; the consequence was, that when he arrived at *Cairo*, he found himself in possession of an immense quantity of corn, rice, &c. It must be allowed, that *Buonaparte* is uncommonly *ingenious*—when in a conquered country, he always knows how to turn every article into money! he recollected the ingots which he had left at *Alexandria*, and deemed it a great pity, that they should remain with *Mussulmen*! He immediately wrote the following letter to *Kleber*, who commanded at *Alexandria*:

“ Citizen General, there is here a very excellent
 “ mint—we shall have occasion for the ingots, which
 “ we left with the merchants of *Alexandria*, in exchange
 “ for the species of the country. I request you,
 “ therefore, to call together all the merchants with
 “ whom the ingots were exchanged, and order them

“ to

“to deliver them up immediately! I will give them
 “in lieu of the bullion, *wheat and rice*, of which we
 “have *immense* quantities. Our poverty in species is
 “equal to our riches in commodities: this circum-
 “stance absolutely compels me to take as many ingots
 “as possible from the merchants, and give them corn
 “in exchange, &c.”

This letter is extremely important—it paints *Buonaparte* in his true colours. It enables us by *his own words*, to prove him guilty of rapacity, and of uttering the most exaggerated falsehoods.—If we follow him in the whole course of his transactions, we shall soon become intimately acquainted with his disposition. At Malta he plunders the publick treasury—at *Alexandria*, he forces the merchants to accept that plunder in lieu of the circulating species—on his route to *Cairo*, he destroys the villages, and carries away all the corn—and lastly, he orders the merchants to return the ingots, *promising* to give them in exchange part of that *immense quantity* of corn, of which his troops had so basely despoiled the poor inhabitants of *Egypt*!—This we believe, is sufficient to establish the *first charge*, “rapacity,”—now for the *second*; four days before *Buonaparte* wrote that letter to *Kleber*, he sent an account of the Pyramids to the Directory; in the dispatches, he says, “The
 “Mamelukes fought desperately—it is true that they
 “defended their fortunes, for there was not one of
 “them on whom our soldiers did not find *three, four,*
 “and *five hundred louis*!!” In the same account *Buonaparte* says, that *two thousand* Mamelukes were killed, therefore, at the lowest computation, the *French* soldiers had a booty of eight hundred thousand louis,
 (equal

(equal to eight hundred thousand pounds), on the 23d of July, and yet on the 27th, *Buonaparte* tells *Kleber*, "Our poverty in specie, is equal to our riches in commodities." And on the 28th, he wrote to his brother *Joseph*, at *Paris*, and declares, that, "There is no money in the country, NO, NOT EVEN TO PAY THE TROOPS. I think of being in France in two months!" In the first place, we would ask, what need there was for money, while the soldiers had found eight hundred thousand pounds! on the bodies of the two thousand *Mamelukes* after the battle of the *Pyramids* which had happened five days before? Surely the authenticity of *Buonaparte's* statements will become proverbial! The words, "no, not even to pay the troops," are worthy of remark—That is *Buonaparte's* creed, and from it he never swerves. "Every country that has the happiness of being conquered and ravaged by the armies under his command, MUST PAY THOSE ARMIES!" Such has been the case in *Genoa*, the *Papal* territories, *Naples*, *Switzerland*, *Holland*, &c. But then the inhabitants are gravely told, that they are made "free and happy!" The words, "I think of being in France in two months," indicate very plainly, that, *Buonaparte* had already formed the heroick project of abandoning his troops as soon as fortune began to prove adverse.

After detecting *Buonaparte* in such numerous and palpable falsehoods, is it possible that any person can place the least confidence in his dispatches, or in those published under his sanction? As it is of the greatest importance, that every Briton should be perfectly acquainted with the character of his inveterate foe, we omit

omit no trait which may tend to illustrate the disposition of the disturber of all Europe.

CHAP. XI.

French fleet attacked by Lord Nelson on the 1st of August, 1798.—Buonaparte defeated by Ibrahim Bey.—Buonaparte's visit to the Pyramids.—Egypt devastated in various directions.—Character of Morad Bey, who is defeated, &c. &c.

DURING one whole month, the *French* fleet consisting of thirteen sail of the line, and four frigates, had not removed from its situation in the Bay of *Aboukir*, when to their utter confusion and dismay, the ever memorable 1st of August, 1798, presented to their view, the gallant *Nelson*, with fourteen sail of the line, who, notwithstanding the strong position of Admiral *Brueys*, lost no time in making an attack upon them—we shall not enter into the particulars of this engagement; the result was, that eleven *French* ships was either taken or destroyed, an additional proof, certainly, if any were requisite, that the skill and courage of *British* seamen stood unrivalled. Admiral *Brueys* was of opinion, which no doubt was grounded on a good foundation, that the *French* fleet ought to have sailed for *Corse* as soon as the troops were landed, but *Buonaparte*, who knows every thing, would not admit of it; indeed it appears
he

he had some dislike to the Admiral, and therefore to have given up to his opinion, might possibly be considered a degradation. For be it observed, while *Buonaparte* remained at *Alexandria*, it was he who issued all orders—after which *Brueys* received them from *Berthier*; the consequence was, that, the Admiral being compelled to remain at *Aboukir*, took a strong position in the anchoring ground off *Requiers*, and calmly awaited his own destruction.—In transmitting an account of the engagement to the Directory, *Buonaparte* proved himself a most contemptible calumniator, for he endeavours to throw the whole blame on the unfortunate *Brueys*, whereas he himself was alone deserving it—the following passage is worthy of observation; “It appears to me that Admiral *Brueys* did not determine to sail for *Corfu* until he “was absolutely sure of not being able to enter the “port of *Alexandria*, and of the army’s not being “compelled to retreat. If in this unfortunate affair, “he has committed faults, he has expiated them by a “glorious death!” Now in spite of *Buonaparte*’s insinuation, that, it was the Admiral’s fault that the fleet did not sail for *Corfu*, it may be easily proved that *Buonaparte* was alone to blame! What then must be thought of a man, who being guilty, endeavours to exculpate himself by accusing an innocent person? Is that man a hero? Shame upon those who profane that noble appellation by bestowing it upon *Buonaparte*!

The first proof that *Brueys* could not sail without *Buonaparte*’s consent, is extracted from *Jaubert*’s letter to the Minister of the Marine; “All orders were

" at first given out by the Commander in Chief.
 " lately, the Admiral has received them from *Berthier*,
 " the Chief of the Staff. The immense difference
 " between land and sea operations will be obvious to
 " you, but such is *Buonaparte's* way of doing things!"
 Another paragraph in the same letter is still more
 positive—"We are now moored at *Aboukir*, five leagues
 " to the east of *Alexandria*.—The *English* are ap-
 " proaching—The general opinion was, that, as soon
 " as the debarkation was effected we ought to have
 " sailed for *Corfu*, where we were to be reinforced by
 " the ships from *Malta*, *Toulon*, and *Ancona*, and thus
 " prepared for all events. THE GENERAL HAS DE-
 " CIDED IT OTHERWISE!" Yet *Buonaparte* has the
 effrontery of saying in his letter to the Directory;
 " To the 24th of July I believed, that, the Admiral
 " had sailed for *Corfu*, or entered the port of *Alexan-*
 " *dria*!" On the contrary he knew perfectly, that,
Brueys had not, and could not enter the port of *Alexan-*
dria, and he had even expressed himself to that pur-
 pose; for in a letter which he wrote ten or twelve days
 before, he says, " On account of a part of the channel
 " which has no more than three fathoms of water,
 " the seventy-fours cannot enter!" As to his saying that
 he believed *Brueys* had sailed for *Corfu*, it is a most
 infamous falsehood; for on the 27th of July he wrote
 to *Brueys*: the following passages are in the letter;
 " I hear from *Alexandria*, that, a channel such as we
 " could wish, has been discovered, and by this time
 " I hope you are in the port with your fleet. The instant
 " you inform me what you have done, and in what
 " situation you are, you shall receive further orders
 from

“*from me! &c.*” What stronger proof can be given of *Brueys*’ innocence? The very man, who is base enough to calumniate his memory, forbids him to take any measures without his orders! If the fleet did not sail for *Corfu*, who was to blame? Was it Admiral *Brueys*, who in reality was only a *subaltern*, or was it *Buonaparte* who issued every order? Our readers will not find it difficult to answer the question, and what will they think of *Buonaparte*’s duplicity!—Again, Admiral *Ganteaume*, who, after the first of August, was nominated commander in chief of the remaining naval forces in *Egypt*, positively says in his account of that celebrated engagement; “It would have been prudent to have quitted the coast the moment the descent had been effected, but the admiral, *who waited for the orders of the Commander in Chief*, did not think himself justified in quitting the coast! &c.” We confess, that, we have dwelt with pleasure on this subject, because we are convinced, that, it develops the tenor of conduct which *Buonaparte* uniformly pursues, even with his friends and countrymen!

Buonaparte set out from *Cairo* with three divisions, on the eighth of August. “The object of his expedition,” says the *French* historian, “was to finish the conquest of *Egypt*, and drive completely out of the country, *Ibrahim Bey* and his army, who had fled towards *Syria*.” The truth is, that, *Ibrahim Bey* with about fifteen hundred men escorted his caravan, and, that, as *Buonaparte* knew it contained treasures to a considerable amount, *he felt a desire of possessing them*, and for that purpose, he put himself at the head
of

of nearly four thousand men, and pursued *Ibrahim Bey*. It is not less singular than true, that the *invincible Buonaparte* failed completely in that *magnanimous* expedition, We shall leave to our readers to make their comments on the *French* troops flying from an army scarcely *half* their number ; but we can assure them, that *Buonaparte*, after having lost a great many men, was compelled to return to *Cairo*, without those treasures which he had coveted so ardently ! We can have no better proof of the defeat of the *French* than the account given by *Buonaparte's* historian. "*Nine hundred* chosen men formed the rear guard of the *Bey*—A HUNDRED ! *French* chas-seurs attacked them with astonishing intrepidity, and though, they obtained an advantage, it was not sufficiently great to enable them to get possession of the rich column of *Ibrahim*, which had the women's treasures, and a part of the riches of the caravan!! The panegyrist of the *Great Consul* has upthinkingly avowed, that, the object of *Buonaparte's* expedition was to get possession of that rich column, but it is really entertaining to observe how *Buonaparte's* flatterers disguise his defeats.

After *Buonaparte's* disgraceful return to *Cairo*, he visited the Pyramids, and entered the largest, said to have been built by *Cheops*, king of *Egypt*, In one of the apartments, *Buonaparte* considered for a long time with the muftis, *Suleiman* and *Muhammed*. His admirers have faithfully recorded that conversation, from a belief, that, it redounded to *Buonaparte's* honour.—Impelled by a different motive, we shall quote a few passages, from the conviction, that, they will

will stamp infamy on the *Corfican*. It will immediately be perceived, that *Buonaparte* affected the Oriental style—

BUONAPARTE. “Glory to Allah! There is *no other* God but God; *Mahomet is his prophet*, and “I am his friend.” SULEIMAN. “O most valiant “among the children of *Iffa*, (Jesus Christ) *Allah* “has caused thee to follow the exterminating angel, “to deliver his land of *Egypt*. “The salutation of “peace to the envoy of God! ‘Also to thee invincible “warrior, favourite of Mahomet!” BUONAPARTE. “Musti, I thank thee. The DIVINE Koran is the “delight of my soul, and the object of my contemplation! I love the prophet, and I hope to “honour his tomb in the *holy city*! But my *mission* is “first to exterminate the *Mamalukes*.” SULEIMAN. “May the angels of victory sweep the dust from thy “path, and cover their wings. The *Mamaluks* “has merited death.” BUONAPARTE. “He has “been smitten and delivered to the black angels, “*Moukir* and *Quakir*. God, on whom all things “depend, *has ordained that his dominion shall be destroyed*! He has extended the *hand of rapine* over the “land of *Egypt*, but Allah has withered his hand. “If *Egypt* be his portion, *let him shew me the lease* “*which God has given him of it!!* This land was a “prayer to twenty-four oppressors, rebels against the “Grand Sultan our Ally, *Adriel*, the angel of death, “has breathed upon them; *we* are come, and *they* “have disappeared.” MUHAMMED. “Honour to “thy invincible arms, and to the unexpected thunder “which spring from the middle of thy warriors on
“horseback.”

"horseback." BUONAPARTE. "Dost thou believe
 "that work to be a work of the children of men?
 "Allah has placed it in my hands by his messenger,
 "the genius of war! . . . If, by an order from
 "on high, I have moderated the pride of the vicar,
 "of *Iffa*, "(It is well known that the Roman Catholicks
 "call the Pope, "the Vicar of Jesus Christ.) "by di-
 "minishing his terrestrial possessions, in order to amass
 "for him celestial treasures, was it not rendering glory
 "to God."

We need not trouble our readers with any more instances of blasphemy in the *sublime* conversation of the *hero Buonaparte*, as from the above specimens, we feel ourselves justified in asserting, that, no Atteist ever mocked the Supreme Power so frequently and so wantonly as *Buonaparte*; continually changing his profession of faith, he makes it subservient to his ambitious views, and with unexampled audacity, he attributes, to the will of the Omnipotent, deeds, which were impelled solely by his sanguinary and rapacious disposition: of all his blasphemous assertions, the most horrid is unquestionably that, in which he declares that, it was by an express order of God, he despoiled the Pope of his territorial possessions, to amass for him celestial treasures!! And *Buonaparte's* sycophants carefully recorded that conversation, and deemed it a superior proof of his commanding genius! O degraded *France*? how, has thy pride disappeared. Shades of the warriors of *Gallia*! who served gloriously under *Henry IV.* and *Lewis XIV.* what must your indignation be when you behold your children prostrate at the shrine of a tyrant, and praising with the voice of flattery all his detestable vices,

After

After the disgusting hypocritical cant which we have quoted, it is truly entertaining to observe *Buonaparte's* love of plunder predominating all at once—he suddenly breaks off in the midst of a studied sentence, and asks the mufti very gravely; “*Does this pyramid, then really contain no treasure that you know of?*” *Su-leiman* having sworn that he knew of none—*Buonaparte* immediately re-assumes the garb of a religious hypocrite, and exclaims, “*Unhappy, thrice unhappy those who seek for perishable riches, and covet gold and silver, which are like unto dust!!*” It is not in the power of any man to render himself more truly contemptible than *Buonaparte* did in the whole of that conversation with two or three poor trembling *Musties*, concluding with the following words, which we insert without a comment.

BUONAPARTE. “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear. The hour of political resurrection has arrived, for all who groan under oppression. *Musties, Imans, Mullahs, Dervises, Kalandars*, instruct the people of *Egypt*; encourage them to join in our labours, to complete the destruction of the *Beys*, and the *Mamalukes*, Favour the commerce of the *Franks* in your country, and their endeavours to arrive at the ancient laws of *Brama*. Let them have store-houses in your ports, and drive far from you the islanders of *Albion*, accursed among the children of *Asia*. Such is the will of *Mahomet*. The treasures, industry, and friendship of the *Franks* shall be your lot, like you, ascend to the seventh heaven, and are seated by the side of the black-eyed *Houris*, who are endowed with perpetual youth and
“virginity,

“virginity repose under the shade of *Laba*, whose
 “branches present, of themselves, to the true *Musful-*
 “*man*, whatever their hearts may desire. God is great,
 “and his works are marvellous. The salutation of
 “Peace be upon you, thrice holy *Musties*!”

Buonaparte having appointed General *Dupius* commandant of *Cairo*, organized the government of that city, and imposed as many taxes and contributions upon the miserable inhabitants, as he had done upon those of *Alexandria*. We may easily judge of the *happiness* of the *Egyptians* in this *clement* and *just* administration, when we know that he ordered the *Collector of the taxes* never to proceed in the discharge of his duty without a detachment of soldiers to enable him to enforce his *moderate demands*. *Buonaparte* sent several of his Generals to complete the conquest, or rather devastation of *Egypt*. one of them proved himself worthy of *Buonaparte's* confidence, for having taken the village of *Menouf* on the *Delta*, two hundred of the inhabitants lost their lives!!

Generals *Murat*, *Damas*, and *Lannes*, were sent in different directions against the *Arabs*, and those unfortunate wanderers experienced the blessings of a *French* invasion, by being plundered of all their effects; and even their horses and camels were taken from them! The *French* panegyrist, whom we have so often exposed, is candid for once;—he allows, that two or three hundred of the *Arabs* were killed, and that the survivors LOST EVERY THING! but he speaks of it as a matter of course, and truly so it is, in every country subdued by that *angel* of rapine, *Napoleon Buonaparte*!

As *Morad Bey*, was by far the most powerful enemy with whom *Buonaparte* had to contend, he sent one of his bravest generals against him.—*Desaix*, with a strong division, accordingly proceeded into Upper Egypt, to attack *Morad Bey*. That extraordinary man has been so celebrated, that, we shall be pardoned for giving a sketch of his character, and whatever qualities may be allowed him, they cannot be doubted, for the statement is extracted from a publication compiled by a *French* officer of rank; "*Morad Bey* was no ordinary man! he possessed in an eminent degree, the virtues and weaknesses which attach to that point of civilization to which the *Mamelukes* are arrived. Abandoned to all the impetuosity of his passions, in the first emotions, he was terrible; but his vehemence frequently subsided in an extreme weakness. Gifted by nature with that ascendancy of character, which marks men for empire, he possessed the instinct to command, without any knowledge of the duties of a governor. His strength of body was extraordinary; his courage was undaunted, and he possessed a confidence superior to misfortune, for it did not desert him, even in the most critical moments of his distracted life." This great, but unhappy man, determined to fight bravely for his independence, and after several skirmishes, he found himself opposed to General *Desaix*, at *Sediman*. There, on the 8th of October 1798, *Morad Bey* and his brave cavalry, made repeated and desperate charges upon the *French* division; but the superiority of discipline untimely prevailed, and *Morad Bey*, after losing many of his officers and men, was reluctantly

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compelled

compelled to retreat. General *Desaix*, who was, unquestionably, a very skilful officer, (considerably superior to the *great Buonaparte*) pressed *Morad Bey* so closely, that, he deemed it prudent to offer terms, which, though very advantageous to the *French*, would enable him to keep part of his government. *Desaix* accepted them, and *Morad Bey* would have ended his days in tranquillity, if *Buonaparte* had respected the treaty which had been concluded between General *Desaix* and his brave opponent; but, on the contrary, he laid a contribution on *Morad Bey's* property, and not satisfied with that exaction, *he increased the sum a few days after!* Our readers will be surprised at the motive that induced *Buonaparte* to augment his extortions. After the treaty of peace had been ratified, several *French* officers of rank assembled at the house of *Madame Morad Bey*, the widow of the great *Ali Bey*; that lady entertained them with all the hospitality which she could possibly manifest; and as they retired, she presented a ring of considerable value to young *Eugene Beauharnois*, son of *Madame Buonaparte*. *A few days afterwards, a contribution was laid on her property, of far greater extent than her proportion had been fixed at, and much beyond her means to pay!* On her complaining, she received for answer, "THAT AS
 " IT WAS UNDERSTOOD SHE STILL POSSESSED VERY
 " COSTLY ORNAMENTS, NO MITIGATION COULD
 " BE PLEADED!" This exaction then appeared to be founded on the present which she had so generously, but as it proved, imprudently, given to the relative of *Buonaparte*, with the motive of shewing honour to that general! As such, it was considered as the grossest breach

breach of faith and hospitality; nor could *Morad Bey* ever speak of the transaction, without the bitterest expressions of indignation.

This anecdote, which is so truly characteristic of *Buonaparte's* perfidious and rapacious disposition, is extracted from a most valuable and interesting work; "Sir *Robert Wilson's* History of the *British* Expedition to *Egypt*." The patriotic spirit with which it abounds, reflects infinite honour on the author, and every *Briton* is indebted to him for having removed the veil of hypocrisy, and presented *Buonaparte* as he really is. Sir *Robert Wilson* has nobly vindicated the *British* troops from the illiberal charge thrown out against them by General *Reynier*; and though he has dwelled with honest pride on the valour of *British* soldiers, he has, with equal candour, rendered every justice to the bravery of their foes.

Before we return to *Buonaparte*, we cannot help expressing our regret, that, *Morad Bey* should have been carried off by the plague, previously to the total expulsion of the *French* from *Egypt* by the *British* troops. He expired on the 22d of April, 1801, and to his last moment, he never forgave *Buonaparte* for the numerous, wanton, and unprovoked cruelties which he had committed in *Egypt*. The compliment which the *Beys* and *Mamalukes* paid to *Morad Bey*, is the best proof of the high esteem they entertained for him; when they buried him, they broke his sabre into his grave, to denote that none of them was worthy after him to wield it!

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Insurrection at Cairo.—Buonaparte crosses the desert and takes possession of Suez.—Departs into Syria.

IN following *Buonaparte* through all his expeditions, we have found, that, his treatment of the countries which he conquers, is so extremely vexatious, that the inhabitants are unable to support his tyranny, and generally make some desperate effort to regain their freedom. This was the case at *Rome, Milan, Pavia, Benafco, Malta, &c.* and it necessarily happened also at *Cairo*, for the *Turks* and *Egyptians*, as well as the other inhabitants of that great city, were unaccustomed to such exactions, taxes, and contributions, as those which *Buonaparte* levied daily upon them. General *Dupuis*, who was extremely well calculated to serve under *Buonaparte*, assisted him in every act of plunder, and the result of such conduct, was a general insurrection of the wretched and oppressed inhabitants. It took place on the 22d. of October, early in the morning, and ended as every one of such insurrections has done. The number of *Buonaparte's* forces gives him the superiority over a tumultuous assemblage of men, badly armed, and without any officers to encourage them; and in the end, those insurrections, though extremely justifiable, caused a great deal of bloodshed, as they afforded a pretext to *Buonaparte*, for the *butchering* of those inhabitants, who, tired of his tyranny, endeavoured to expel him from their desolated

isolated shores. That, in this instance, *Buonaparte* did not derogate from his well known character may be deduced, *even from the pages of his panegyrist*, which we faithfully transcribe, and leave our readers to judge of the cruelties which were perpetrated on the 22d of October, while the *French* eulogist admits the following:

“General *Dupuis*, commandant of the town of *Cairo*, heard early on the 30th Vendemiaire, (or 22d of October, 1798) that a crowd was collecting at the grand mosque; he mounted his horse, and ordering twenty dragoons to accompany him, he rode to the place. On his way, he enquired the cause of the disturbance, and he was told by the *Turks*, that some outrage, committed by the *French* agents, who collected the taxes, was the only cause of the insurrection.

When General *Dupuis* arrived at the grand mosque, he ordered the *seditions* to disperse; and as they did not immediately obey, he commanded the dragoons to fire; the populace redoubled their efforts, and in the confusion, General *Dupuis* received two severe wounds, of which he died two hours after. The *Turks* immediately flocked in crowds to the grand mosque, armed with lances, stakes, and a few fire arms. Their plot was well contrived; they did not restrict themselves to assembling in crowds in one place; on the contrary, every particular mosque was a fortress, in which they enclosed themselves, and directed their attack or defence as might be required. Immediately the general was beaten to call the troops together, and they were instantly in motion. The news of the death of *Dupuis* excited in the soldiers, A THIRST OF REVENGE.

VENGE! The general in chief ordered a battalion to march towards the grand mosque, and throw some bombs into the place; *the fugitives were reduced to the utmost despair!* He ordered some battalions to attack the other mosques, and force open the gates. He was obeyed, and our TROOPS MADE A DREADFUL SLAUGHTER AMONG THEM. If the events of this day was sanguinary, the scenes of the following days were much more so. EVERY PERSON WHO WAS FOUND WITH A CUDGEL OR STICK, WAS PUT TO DEATH! On the 2d Brumaire, (24th October) the same spirit of insurrection was manifested; but by the vigour of our troops, the inhabitants were soon silenced, and tranquillity began to return! *The loss of the Turks was at least six thousand!!* And our troops had at most only one hundred men killed and wounded!"

If such be the account given by one of *Buonaparte's* sycophants, what must be the *true statement* of the horrors committed by the *French* soldiers on those dreadful days! We have it from indubitable authority, that, BUONAPARTE ORDERED HIS SOLDIERS TO MASSACRE EVERY PERSON WHOM THEY FOUND IN THE MOSQUES. These are the *benefits* which he confers upon the inhabitants of the countries which he invades; promising protection to the poor, he first plunders them of every thing, and having set fire to their habitations, he proceeds to new acts of rapine! If they resist, they are murdered; their wives and daughters are defiled; the silver head, and the infant or the son, are no protection against his horde of assassins! is tyrannical Ruler of this world; Be thy blessing on the of *Britain!* Nerve their arms with ten-fold

bold vigour, that, the defenders of their king, their country, and their families, may be invincible ! Suffer not the deluded slaves of the *Gallic* Tyrant to pollute the land of our fathers ! Be *Buonaparte's* attempt to invade this country the *last* of his crimes, and may his overthrow, restore peace to the distracted shores suffering under his tyranny !

Buonaparte issued several orders after the insurrection at *Cairo* ; but we shall notice only the following :

" All the young *Mamelukes*, above eight years of age, and under sixteen ; all the male youths of the same age, black or white, who are slaves and belong to *Mamelukes*, shall be brought, *five days after the publication of the present order*, to the house of the commandant of the town, in order to be incorporated in the different corps of the army, in the proportion of nine to a battalion, and four to a squadron ! "

Having established such a military government at *Cairo*, that, he had no reason to fear a second insurrection from the remainder of the poor oppressed inhabitants, *Buonaparte* determined to penetrate into *Syria*, in order, according to his own words, " To chastise *Dgezzar Pacha*, because he had treated *Ibrahim Bey* with hospitality ! " But *Buonaparte*, wishing to render himself master of *Suez*, previously to his expedition in *Syria*, departed on the 22nd of December, and having traversed the desert, he took possession of *Suez*, on the 6th of January, 1799. During the march through the desert, the soldiers experienced great hardships ; and many of the men grown absolutely desperate, followed the example of some of their comrades, who, while the army march-

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ed from *Alexandria* to *Cairo*, were so harrassed by fatigue, thirst, and hunger, that, they advanced towards *Buonaparte*; and exclaiming, "*Murderer, behold thy work!*" blew out their brains, and sunk at his feet!

Buonaparte having ordered General *Reynier* to send a demi-brigade to take possession of *Catchick*, set out for *Cairo*, where he arrived on the seventh of February; and having made the necessary preparations, departed for *Syria*. Englishmen! You have hitherto seen *Buonaparte* victorious in every battle, and successful in every siege; you will now behold him suddenly arrested in his victorious career, completely repulsed, and driven back with ignominy; by an army considerably inferior to his own; Be your bosoms glowing with honest pride! It was a *Briton* who led that army;—it was a *hero* who defeated *Buonaparte*;—it was the brave, the truly valiant *Sir Sidney Smith*, who covered himself with immortal glory, by leading to victory, troops, who would have vanished before *Buonaparte*, if they had not been headed by a valorous son of Albion!

CHAP. XIII.

Surrender of El-Arish to the French troops, who march into Gaza.—Town and fort of Jaffa, carried by assault.—Sir R. Wilson's account of Buonaparte ordering three thousand eight hundred prisoners to be put to death—and poisoning three hundred and eighty of his own soldiers, who were sick and wounded in the hospitals.

ON the tenth of February, General *Reynier* entered *El-Arish*, after an obstinate engagement, and in concert with General *Kleber*, he attacked the *Mamelukes* on the night of the fifteenth. The *Mamelukes* were defeated, and lost many men, all their horses, provisions, &c. Three days after, *Buonaparte* arrived at *El-Arish*, and, having given the necessary orders the castle of *El-Arish* was cannonaded so furiously, that, it surrendered on the twenty-first, and the garrison consisting of 1600 men was compelled to go to Bagdad through the desert: an additional proof of *Buonaparte's* kind treatment of his prisoners!

The head quarters of the army arrived on the 25th of February at *Kan Lounessa*, the first village of *Palestine*, and then marched to *Gaza*, (or *Gizeh*.) after a slight resistance from some straggling *Mamelukes*, the *French* took possession of the town; where they found a considerable quantity of powder and biscuit. "The inhabitants," says the *French* historian, "had
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“sent to meet *Buonaparte*; they were treated as friends,
 “and accordingly placed UNDER MILITARY REGULA-
 “TIONS!” Precious proof of amity!

On the first of March, the army marched towards *Jaffa*, (formerly *Joppa*) General *Kleber* arrived before the town on the fourth, and on the morning of the seventh, *Buonaparte* ordered the assault, and the town and fort were carried.—And here let us pause, before we proceed to enumerate atrocities till then unknown: atrocities, that future ages will scarcely dare to credit; atrocities, so diabolical, that, all the crimes that *Buonaparte* had before committed lose their enormity, and appear almost like virtues? Soldiers of *Buonaparte*! You who nobly spared the resiftless! Let your deed of mercy live in after ages! But, be the execration of posterity on your barbarous commander, and on those of his army, who condescended to be the executioners of his hellish command!

In presenting to Englishmen an account so well calculated to enable them to form an idea of THE FATE THAT AWAITS THEM, SHOULD BUONAPARTE'S THREATS BE REALIZED, We must again have recourse to the patriotic and valuable publication of that meritorious officer, *Sir Robert Wilson*. He has described the “bloody deed” with the feelings of a Briton, and as it would be impossible to alter the language, without weakening the diction, we shall quote his own words:—“General *Hutchinson* was very angry with the *Turks*, for still continuing the practice of mangling, and cutting off the heads of the prisoners, and the Captain *Pachu*, at his remonstrance, again issued very severe orders against it, but the *Turks* just-
 fied

ed themselves for the massacre of the *French*, by the MASSACRE AT JAFFA, As this act, and the POISONING OF THE SICK, have never been credited, because of such enormities being so incredibly atrocious, a digression to authenticate them, may not be deemed intrusively tedious; and had not the influence of power interfered, the act of accusation would have been preferred in a more solemn manner, and the damning proofs produced by penitent agents of these murders; but, neither menaces, recompense, nor promises, can altogether stifle the cries of outraged humanity, and the day for retribution of justice is only delayed.

"*Buonaparte* having carried the town of *Jaffa* by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and let it be well remembered, that, an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified their rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an *unresisting* enemy. Soldiers of the *Italian* army, this is a laurel wreath, worthy of your fame, a trophy of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you.

"Three days afterwards, BUONAPARTE, WHO HAD EXPRESSED MUCH RESENTMENT, AT THE COM-PASSION MANIFESTED BY HIS TROOPS! and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of THREE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED PRISONERS, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near *Jaffa*, where a division of *French* infantry formed against them. When the *Turks* had entered

" entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful
 " preparations completed, the signal gun fired. Volleys
 " of musquetry and grape instantly played against
 " them; and *Buonaparte*, who had been regarding the
 " scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke
 " ascending, COULD NOT RESTRAIN HIS JOY, BUT
 " BROKE OUT INTO EXCLAMATIONS OF APPROVAL!
 " indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of
 " his troops thus to dishonour themselves. *Kleber* had
 " remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the
 " officers of the *etat major* who commanded, (for the
 " General to whom the division belonged was absent,)
 " even refused to execute the order without a written
 " instruction; but *Buonaparte* was too cautious, and
 " sent *Berthier* to enforce obedience.

• " When the *Turks* had all fallen, the *French* troops
 humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings
 of the wounded; but some time elapsed before the
 bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed,
 and PROBABLY MANY LANGUISHED DAYS IN AGONY!
 Several *French* officers, bywhom these details are
 partly furnished, declared, that, this was a scene, the
 retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and
 that they did not reflect on it without horror, *accus-*
tomed as they had been to sights of cruelty!!

" These were the prisoners whom *Affalini*, in his
 very able work on the plague, alludes to when he says,
 that for three days, the *Turks* shewed no symptoms of
 that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which
 contributed to produce the pestilential malady which
 he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the
French army.

" Their

"Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault; since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

"Such a fact should not, however, be alleged without some proof, or leading circumstance stronger than assertion, being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy for obeying a command, when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was *Bonn's division* which fired, and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division.

"*Buonaparte* had in person previously inspected the whole body, amounting to near five thousand men, with the object of saving those who belonged to the towns *he was preparing to attack*. The age and noble physiognomy of a veteran *Janizary* attracted his observation, and he asked him sharply, "Old man, "what do you here?" The *Janizary*, undaunted, replied, "I must answer that question by asking you the same; your answer will be, that you came to serve your Sultan; so did I mine."—The intrepid frankness of the reply excited universal interest in his favour. *Buonaparte* even smiled. "He is saved," whispered some of the Aids-de-camp. "You know not *Buonaparte*," observed one who had served with him in *Italy*,
"that

“ that smile, I speak from experience, does not proceed from the sentiment of benevolence ; remember what I say.” The opinion was too true. The Janizary was left in the ranks, doomed to death, and suffered!!

“ The next circumstance is of a nature which requires indeed the most particular details to establish, since the idea can scarcely be entertained, that the Commander of an army should order his own countrymen, (or if not immediately such, those amongst whom he had been naturalized,) to be deprived of existence, when in a state which required the kindest consideration. But the annals of *France* record the frightful crimes of a *Robespierre*, a *Carriere* ; and historical truth must now recite one equal to any which has blackened its page.

“ *Buonaparte* finding that his hospitals at *Jaffa* were crowded with sick, sent for a physician, whose name should be inscribed in letters of gold, but which from important reasons cannot be inserted ; on his arrival he entered into a long conversation with him respecting the danger of contagion, concluding at last with the remark, that something must be done to remedy the evil, and, that, THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SICK ALREADY IN THE HOSPITAL WAS THE ONLY MEANS WHICH COULD BE ADOPTED ! The physician, alarmed at the proposal, bold in the confidence of virtue, and the cause of humanity, remonstrated vehemently, respecting the cruelty as well as the atrocity of such a murder ; but finding that *Buonaparte* persevered and menaced, he indignantly left the tent, with this memorable observation : “ *Neither my principles, nor the character of my profession will allow me to become a murderer ; and, General, if such qualities*

qualities as you insinuate are necessary to form a great man, I thank my God that I do not possess them.

“ *Buonaparte* was not to be diverted from his object by moral considerations, he persevered, and found an apothecary, who (dreading the weight of power, but who since has made an atonement to his mind by unequivocally confessing the fact) consented to become his agent, and to administer poison to the sick. OPIUM AT NIGHT WAS DISTRIBUTED IN GRATIFYING FOOD! The wretched unsuspecting victims banqueted, and in a few hours, *five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for their country, perished thus miserably by the order of its idol!!!*

“ Is there a *Frenchman* whose blood does not chill with horror at the recital of such a fact? Surely the manes of these murdered unoffending people must be now hovering round the seat of government, and . . .

“ If a doubt should still exist as to the veracity of this statement, let the members of the Institute at *Cairo* be asked what passed in the sitting after the return of *Buonaparte* from *Syria*; they will relate, that, the same virtuous physician, who refused to become the destroyer of those committed to his protection, accused *Buonaparte* of high treason in full assembly, against the honour of *France*, her children, and humanity, that he entered into the full details of the poisoning of the sick, and the massacre of the garrison, aggravating these crimes by *charging Buonaparte with strangling, previously at Rosetta, a number of French and Copts, who were ill of the plague*; thus proving that this disposal of the sick was a *premeditated plan, which he wished to introduce into general practice.*

“ *Buonaparte*

“ *Buonaparte* pleaded, that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them! or strength enough to guard them!! and, that, it was evident if they escaped, they would act against the *French*, since amongst the prisoners were five hundred of the garrison of *El Arish*, who had promised not to serve again; (In passing through *Jaffa*, they had been compelled to serve by the Commandant of the place); and, that, he destroyed the sick to prevent contagion, and save themselves from falling into the hands of the *Turks*!! but it was in vain, that, *Buonaparte* attempted to justify himself---his arguments, however specious, were directly refuted, and he was at last obliged to rest his defence on the positions of *Machiavel*; the members sat petrified with terror, and almost doubted whether the scene passing before their eyes was not illusion. When *Buonaparte* left *Egypt*, the *Savans* were so angry at being left behind, *contrary to promise*, that, they elected the *Physician* President of the Institute; an act which spoke for itself fully.

“ Assuredly all these proceedings will not be found in the minutes of the Institutes: no, *Buonaparte's* policy foresaw the danger, and *power produced the erasure*: but let no man, calculating on the force of circumstances which may prevent such an avowal as is solicited, presume on this to deny the whole; there are records which remain, and which in due season will be produced. In the interim, this representation will be sufficient to stimulate inquiry; and Frenchmen, your honour is indeed interested in the examination.

“ Let us hope also, that, in no country will there be found another man of such *Machiavelian* principles,

as by *sophistry* to palliate those transactions; nor must the judgment abuse itself by bringing to recollection the horrors of the *French* revolution, and thus diminish the force of those crimes, by the frequency of equal guilt in *France* during her contest for *Liberty* or *Slavery*."

The unparalleled atrocities which we have quoted from Sir *Robert Wilson's* distinguished publication are confirmed by the testimony of Dr. *Wittman*, who was Physician to the *British* military mission which accompanied the army of the Grand Vizier—he says, that, "Four thousand of the wretched inhabitants who had surrendered, AND WHO HAD IN VAIN IM-
 PLORED THE MERCY OF THEIR CONQUERORS, were, with a part of the late *Turkish* Garrison of *El-Arish*, (amounting, it has been said, to five or six hundred,) dragged out in cold blood, four days after the *French* had obtained possession of *Jaffa*, to the *Sand Hills*, about a league distant, in the way to *Gaza*, AND THERE MOST INHUMANLY PUT TO DEATH!! I have seen the skeletons of those unfortunate victims, which lie scattered over the hills—a modern *Golgotha*, which remains a lasting disgrace to a nation calling itself civilized. Indeed I am sorry to add, that, the charge of *cruelty* against the *French* General *Buonaparte*, does not rest here. It having been reported, that, previously to the retreat of the *French* army from *Syria*, their Commander in Chief *Buonaparte*, had ordered all the sick at *Jaffa* to be poisoned, I was led to make the inquiry, to which every one who had visited the spot would naturally be directed, respecting an act of such singular, and it should seem, wanton inhumanity! It concerns me to have to state, NOT

ONLY

ONLY THAT SUCH A CIRCUMSTANCE WAS POSITIVELY ASSERTED TO HAVE HAPPENED, *but, that while in Egypt*, AN INDIVIDUAL WAS POINTED OUT TO US AS HAVING BEEN THE EXECUTIONER OF THESE DIABOLICAL COMMANDS !!

Buonaparte, who had hoped, that the wanton and heliish barbarity with which he treated his prisoners, and his own suffering companions, would remain unknown to *Britons*, felt himself severely galled by Sir *Robert Wilson's* manly statement, and *instead of disproving them*, he ordered his ambaffador to complain to Lord *Hawkefbury*; for it is well known, that, one of *Buonaparte's* favorite schemes, during the interval of a short and precarious peace, WAS TO REDUCE THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, AND RENDER OUR DAILY NEWSPAPERS THE VEHICLES OF FLATTERY AND FALSEHOOD, as the *Moniteur* and other *French* prints unquestionably are !! As foon as Sir *Robert Wilson* was informed of General *Andreoffi's* complaint to Lord *Hawkefbury*, he wrote the following spirited letters to the editors of the public papers—

“ In the official correspondence lately published, there appear some remarks which the *French* Ambaffador was instructed to make on my history of the *British* expedition to *Egypt*, and of which I feel called upon to take notice, not in personal controversy with General *Andreoffi*, for confcious of the superior virtue of my caufe, I feel myself neither aggrieved nor irritated by the language he has ufed, but; that the public may not attrribute my f Silence to a defire of evading further difcuffion, and thus the shallow mode of
contradiction

contradiction adopted by the chief Consul, acquire an unmerited consideration.

The Ambassador observes, "That a Colonel in the English army has published a work in England, filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies, against the French army and its General.—The lies it contains have been contradicted by the reception which *Colonel Sebastiani* experienced. The publicity of his report was at once a refutation and reparation which the *French* army had a right to expect."

"But surely a new signification must have been attached in *France* to the word *calumny*, when such a term is applied to my account of the conduct of the *French* troops in *Egypt*, and the consequent disposition of the inhabitants towards them !

"Independent, however, of the proofs to be adduced in corroboration of my statement, *Europe* may justly appreciate the probable truth of what I have written, when she recollects the unparelled sufferings endured by the inoffending Countries into which, during the last war, a *French* army penetrated ! and she will at least hesitate to believe, that, the *same* armies should voluntarily ameliorate their conduct in a country more remote, where the atrocities they might commit, would be less liable to publicity, and that this extraordinary change should be in favour of a people whose principles and resistance might have excited the resentment of more generous invaders !

"I will not enter into any unnecessary detail of the numerous facts, which I could urge, but I appeal to the honour of every *British* officer employed in *Egypt*, whether

whether those observations are not sacredly true, which describe the *French* as being hateful to the inhabitants of that country, who represent them as having merited that hatred from the *ruin and devastation with which their progress through it has been marked*; and I am ready, if there be one who refuses to anction this relation, to resign for ever every pretension to honourable reputation, and submit, without a further struggle, to that odium which would attach to calumny and a wilful perversion of truth.

“ But I feel confident, there is no individual who will not amply confirm all that I have written on the subject; and perhaps *Europe* has a right to condemn me, for not having made the accusation still stronger, when I can produce *frequent general orders of the French army, for the destruction of villages, and their inhabitants*. WHEN I CAN PROVE, THAT ABOVE FORTY THOUSAND OF THE NATIVES PERISHED BY THE SWORDS OF THE FRENCH SOLDIERY!! *And that every act of violence was committed, and particularly in Upper Egypt, which could outrage humanity, and disgrace civilized nations!* When written a history of the campaign, was it possible not to express indignation against the authors of such calamities? Would it have been natural not to have felt the animation of that virtuous pride, which reflection on the different conduct of the *British* soldiery must inspire in the heart of every *Briton*? I have asserted that a *British* soldier could traverse alone through any part of *Egypt*, or even penetrate into the desert secure from injury or insult, I have described the natives, as considering the *British* their benefactors and protectors, soliciting opportunities to manifest their gratitude,

and

and esteeming their uniform as sacred as the turban of *Mahometanism*; and I may venture to predict, that hereafter, *the French traveller will be compelled to conceal the name of his nation, and owe his security to the assumption of a BRITISH CHARACTER!*

"But does the effect of *Colonel Sebastiani's* report justify the *Chief Consul's* conclusion, "that it is a complete refutation of what I have advanced," even if we attach to that report implicit belief in its candour and veracity? Is it possible that the *Chief Consul* can suppose the world will trace respect for the French name in the circumstance which occurred to *Colonel Sebastiani* at *Cairo*, and which rendered it necessary for him to demand protection from the * *Vizier*? or would he imagine, that the apologue of *Dgezzar Pacha* was not intelligible, even previous to the instructions being published, which *M. Talleyrand* transmitted to the *French commercial agents*.

"That

"* *Mustapha Onkil*, one of the Chiefs of the city, passed before me on horseback. In passing, he reproached my guides with marching before a Christian, and, above all, before a Frenchman, and menaced them with the bastinado, after my departure. I could not be silent under such an insult; and, upon my return, I sent Citizen *Joubert*, to the *Pacha*, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redress. I declared to him, that I expected *this man would come publicly to me to ask my pardon, place himself at my disposal, and implore my pity!* He found that *Mustapha* was greatly protected by the *Pacha*, and wanted to arrange it otherwise; but I persisted by declaring formally to the *Pacha*, that if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I should instantly depart, and immediately write to *Paris*, and *Constantinople* to state my complaint. This declaration produced all the effect which I expected, and *Mustapha*, alarmed, came on the following day

"That illustrious Senator, to whose virtues and stupendous talents *England* owes so much of her prosperity, has declared, that this report of *Colonel Sebastiani*, in no case contradicts my statement: and I should consider that high opinion as amply sufficient to remove any impression which the *French* ambassador's note might otherwise have made, did I not think it a duty to press some observations on that part of the paragraph which alludes to the direct accusation against *General Buonaparte*, that the public may know I was fully aware of the important responsibility which I had voluntarily undertaken, and in which much national honour was involved. I would wish the world seriously to examine, whether the accuser or accused has shrunk from the investigation, and then hold him as guilty who has withdrawn from the tribunal of inquiry,

"*I avowed that I was his publick accuser, I stood, prepared to support the charges.* The courts of my country were open to that mode of trial, which, as an *honest man*, he could alone have required; but, of which *he* did not dare to avail himself. It was no anonymous libeller against whom he was to have filed his answer, but against one, (and without any indecent vanity

"to me, conducted by *Rosetti*, and he publicly asked my pardon, and put himself at my disposal. I told him, that my first intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life at the solicitations of the *Pacha* and *M. Rosetti*; but if, in future, he should ever insult the *French*, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable. This affair, which, was instantly spread throughout the whole city, produced the best effect."

Colonel Sebastiani's Report.

vanity I may say it) whose rank and character would have justified his most serious attention.

"The charges were too awful to be treated with neglect; and we know that they have not been read with indifference. Nor is it possible that the *First Consul* can imagine the fame of *General Buonaparte* is less sullied because a few snuff-boxes bearing his portrait, were received by some timid or avaricious individuals, with expressions of esteem. Or can he hope that the contemptible, but not less unworthy insinuation directed against the gallant and estimable *British General*, will divert mankind from a reflection on the crimes with which he stands arraigned?

"Those crimes were so enormous, as from their magnitude to stagger belief, and notwithstanding the irrefragable evidence of their commission, the mind still disposed itself rather to receive the impression of astonishment than conviction; but, at length, this sentiment is overpowered by the weight of guilt, and the name of *JAFFA* echoed by the *Turks* to inspire feelings of indignation and revenge, is no longer heard in *Europe*, without emotions of horror. *Sebastiani* himself recoiled at the recollection, and fled from this place of terror, preferring to increase the presumptive proofs against his master, rather than to visit a spot so polluted by his infamy, or hazard the effects of that resentment, which a justifiable vengeance might have inflicted on the favourite.

"Fortunately for *Europe*, she has become more intimately acquainted with the principles of this hitherto misconceived man; and I confess that it gives me considerable

considerable gratification to indulge the thought, that, I have contributed to their developement.

“ Success may, for inscrutable purposes, continue to attend him. Abject *Senates* may decree him a throne or the pantheon; but, history shall render injured humanity justice, and an indignant posterity inscribe on his cenotaph—

“ Ille venera Colchica,
Et quicquid usquam concipitur nefas;
Tractavit.”

We have carefully transcribed Sir Robert Wilson's heavy charges against *Buonaparte*, as also his noble reply to the *First Consul's* very weak defence, for we have deemed it our duty to expatiate on a subject, which appears to us of the greatest consequence. Dazzled by *Buonaparte's* continued victories in *Italy*, many persons had pronounced him a *hero*; they had not investigated the causes of his success, and considering him only as a warrior, they praised him for his military genius, and the rapidity with which he surmounted the numerous obstacles in his career; the slavery to which he reduced Italian States, is one of the reasons why the massacre at *Pavia*; the shooting of the municipality at *Milan*, and the burning of *Benafco*, while his troops, BY HIS EXPRESS COMMAND murdered men, women, and infants, were not known, until *Buonaparte's* departure. While he remained in *Italy*, his dispatches to the *Directory*, were the only source from which we could derive any intelligence, and it will be easily believed, that, he stated those transactions in a manner which made them appear as acts of necessity; and *Buonaparte*, sailed for *Egypt* with the reputation
of

of a *great man*! His success in that country; his exaggerated and bombastick statements, continued to keep up the illusion; but it did not last long: the intercepted letters of many of his generals, contributed not a little to show him in his true light; (In one of these letters, was the following remarkable passage:—
 “I rode through the midst of three thousand slaughtered *Manialukes*; my horse trembled under me,
 “while I fixed my eyes on those poor victims of ambition and vanity, and said to myself,—*We cross the sea; we brave the English fleet; we disembark in a country, the inhabitants of which never thought of us; we pillage their villages, and violate their wives; we wantonly run the hazard of dying of hunger and thirst; we are every one of us on the point of being assassinated; and all this for what? in truth, we have not yet discovered!!*)” but to Sir Robert Wiston is unquestionably due, the honour of exhibiting Buonaparte what he really is, a cruel sanguinary tyrant, possessed of commanding abilities, of which he avails himself to extend his power, and enslave whole nations; and indeed, if we take a retrospect of his crimes, we shall find, that, the man, who ordered the massacre at *Toulon*, and commanded his troops to exterminate the inhabitants of *Paris*, on the 13th *Vendemiaire*, equals in cruelty his worthy patrons, *Barras* and *Freron*. When we follow Buonaparte in *Italy*, and behold him calmly giving directions for the execution of the unhappy wretches at *Pavia* and *Milan*—When we behold him presiding at the execrable massacre of the distracted females of *Benafco*, and, like the fiend of destruction, delighting in blood, we must pronounce

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him

him a greater monster than *Victor Hughes*, *Carriere*, or even *Robespierre*, whom we had deemed at the highest pitch of depravity, to which the human mind could attain; but, we acknowledge, that, we were grossly mistaken. *Sir Robert Wilson*, and the concurrent testimony of his brother officers, have proved to us, that *Buonaparte at Jaffa*, greatly surpassed in treachery, inhumanity, and atrocity, **EVEN THE HERO OF ITALY!!**

Beloved countrymen! You, in whose bosoms glow mercy and generosity;—you who lend a succouring hand to your most inveterate foe, when distress lays him low, what will your feelings be when you peruse the dreadful proofs of *Buonaparte's* savage ferocity! And you, brave and invincible warriors, who served under the gallant *Hutchinson*; you who have so often heard him exclaim, “The life of every man in this army, is so valuable to his country, that, I feel considerable regret in exposing any to the common chances of war. A hundred such soldiers saved, will be a greater satisfaction to me, than all the brilliancy of a successful assault;” what execration must you not feel for the tyrant who *poisons five hundred of his soldiers, wounded in fighting HIS OWN BATTLES!*

CHAP. XIV.

Commencement of the siege of St Jean d'Acre.—Battle of Loubi, in which the French are victorious.—Buonaparte returns to the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, which after the space of two months he is obliged to raise.

THE division under the command of General *Lannes* and General *Bonn* moved towards *Zeta*, and after a slight engagement near the mountains of *Napoulia*, they encamped at *Sabarien*, at a small distance from *Mount Carmel*. *Kleber's* division took possession of *Caiffa*, and two days after, the whole of the army marched to *St. Jean d'Acre*. *Buonaparte* encamped on a height which borders the sea in a parallel direction, at a distance of about a mile; this height extends towards the north as far as *Cape Blanc*, and commands the plain which is between *Acre* and the river *Jordan*. On the twentieth of March the trenches were opened, posts were established to keep the enemy within the town, and the works of the siege were carried on with the utmost activity. *Dgezzar Pacha*, who commanded the town, defended himself with great bravery, and made several sallies, some of which were attended with success; but he would soon have been compelled to surrender, had it not been for the timely assistance which he received from the gallant *Sir Sydney Smith*, whose heroic skill, and undaunted bravery put a period to the successes

successes of the till then victorious *Buonaparte*, against the *Turkish* empire. That immortal hero, with a handful of marines valorously, and honourably defended *St. Jean d'Acre*; successfully foiling every attempt of the enemy, however sanguinary and daring, till they were finally compelled to raise the siege, and precipitately to retire from whence they came. Nothing, perhaps, could be more demonstrative of the consummate mortification, and innate feelings of the hero *Buonaparte*; than the base insinuations, and malicious aspersions with which he attempted to tarnish the character of the *British* Commander.

Englishmen! attend to the following scandalous accusation against *Sir Sydney Smith*; infamous as it is, you will cease to wonder, when you know that it was made by *Napoleon Buonaparte*!

“*The General in Chief to the Chief of the Etat-Major-General.*

“The Commander of the *English* squadron, before *Acre*, having had the barbarity to embark
 “on board a vessel which was infected by the plague,
 “the *French* prisoners made in the two *Tartans*
 “laden with ammunition, which he took near *Caissa*,
 “having been remarked at the head of barbari-
 “ans, in the sortie which took place on the 18th,
 “and the *English* flag having been at the same
 “time flying over many towers in the place, the
 “barbarous conduct which the besieged displayed,
 “in cutting off the heads of two volunteers who were
 “killed, *must be attributed to the English commander*, a
 “conduct which is very opposite to the honours which
 have

have been paid to the *English* officers and soldiers found upon the field of battle, and to the attention which have been shown to wounded and to prisoners.

"The *English* being those who defend and provision *Acre*, the horrible conduct of *Dgezzar*, who caused to be strangled and thrown into the water, with their hands tied behind their backs, more than two hundred Christians, inhabitants of this country, among whom was the Secretary of a *French Consul*, must be equally attributed to that officer, since, from the circumstances, the *Pacha* found himself entirely dependant upon him.

"This officer, having besides refused to execute any of the articles of exchange established between the two powers, and his proposals, in all the communications which have taken place, and his conduct, since the time that he has been cruising here, having been those of a madman; my desire is, that you order the different commanders on the coast to give up all communication with the *English* fleet actually cruising in the seas."

"Signed,

"BONAPARTE."

"Many will think," says *Sir Robert Wilson*, "that these accusations are too contemptible to be noticed; but there are others, who, infatuated with *Bonaparte*, might find in silence grounds for recrimination. I therefore shall briefly observe, first, as to the massacre of the Christians, that *Dgezzar Pacha*, previous to the disembarkation of any individual from the *English* ships, caused thirty men in the *French* interest to be strangled, foreseeing

foreseeing that resistance would be made to the act if not perpetrated before *Sir Sidney's* landing; that, the embarkation of the prisoners in vessels infected with the plague is a ludicrous charge, for would *Sir Sidney*, in that case have placed an *English* guard on board over them? So contrary however is the fact, that some *French* sick, embarked afterwards at *Jaffa*, for *Damitta*, in eight or ten tartans, having heard of the kind treatment their comrades experienced, stood out to the *Tigre* then cruising off, and surrendered themselves. The charge about cutting off the heads of dead men is frivolous; besides, how could *Sir Sidney*, in his situation abolish the practice; and it is urged with some effrontery by the men who a short time before butchered in cold blood near four thousand *Turks*!! The abusive part is too low to be noticed; but I will exalt the victorious adversary of *Buonaparte*, even higher than his character has yet reached, by relating, that, when *Sir Sidney Smith* found the *French* had raised the siege of *Acre*, he instantly sailed for *Jaffa*, off which place he stood close in to the shore, and saw a body of the enemy filing into the town. Immediately he cannonaded what he supposed was an enemy, and his shot evidently did considerable execution; at last by his glass he perceived that the column he was attacking consisted only of wounded and sick men riding on camels, almost all the soldiers having bandages on some of their limbs, when he directly ordered the firing to cease, and allowed the whole convoy to pass unmolested—a treat which must procure for him the gratitude of *Frenchmen*, and the love of his own countrymen.”

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We shall just add, that, *Buonaparte* himself contradicted those false and infamous charges, by assuring *Sir Spencer Smith*, that, "HE HAD ALWAYS ENTERTAINED THE HIGHEST ESTEEM FOR SIR SIDNEY, WHO WAS A BRAVE OFFICER!" *He* had always entertained the highest esteem for *Sir Sidney*, and yet dared to attempt to vilify his character in the basest manner!!

During the siege of *Acre*, the *Mamalukes* of *Ibrahim Bey*, and the *Janizaries* of *Damascus* united and passed the *Jordan* with the intention of attacking the *French* army; *Buonaparte* ordered General *Junot* to prevent their junction with the *Arabs* who were near the mountains of *Naplousia*. A very obstinate battle was fought at the village of *Loubi*, near *Nazareth*; *Junot* retreated fighting, and gained the heights of *Nazareth*. General *Kleber*, who was with *Buonaparte* before *Acre*, was ordered to join General *Junot*, and defeated the *Mamalukes* and *Janizaries* at *Sed-Jarra*, a village only three miles from the ancient *Cana*; but their forces increasing daily, General *Kleber* found himself obliged to request fresh succours; and *Buonaparte*, who was aware how necessary it was to disperse that numerous army, quitted the camp before *Acre*, and proceeded with half his army to *Kleber's* assistance. He found him engaged with the *Janizaries*, and *Mamalukes* and *Fonti*; their number was greatly superior to that of *Kleber's* army, and notwithstanding the well-known bravery of that General, he must have been defeated, had not *Buonaparte's* division arrived to extricate him from his
perilous

perilous situation. This powerful reinforcement decided the fate of the day; the *Arabs* and *Janizaries* were completely repulsed; the camp of the *Mamlukes* was, (according to *Buonaparte's* custom), plundered of every thing, "all those * who could not fly were killed!" and *Buonaparte* having with his usual barbarity, taken ample vengeance on those unfortunate men, who had the audacity to endeavour to expel him from their country! returned to *Acre* with the divisions of *Bonn* and *Murat*.

The siege was renewed with great activity—*Buonaparte* attempted to spring the tower of the breach, but the mine failed of effect, and notwithstanding the ardour of his troops he found it impracticable to maintain a lodgment in the tower.—The astonishing defence made by the few soldiers and marines under the orders of *Sir Sidney Smith*, baffled all the efforts of the *French* troops—Again their barbarous Commander led them to slaughter, and again they were repulsed by the victorious *Briton*. In the desperate attack on the 8th of May, the *French* lost above twenty of their bravest officers, and nearly three hundred chosen troops—the next day *Buonaparte* who never spares the lives of his men, ordered the division of General *Lannes* to storm the town.—General *Lannes* and his soldiers fought like men who are sent to be sacrificed, but their valour was unavailing—the general himself was severely wounded, and the division, after losing a great number of men was compelled to retreat. *Sir Sidney Smith* in his dispatches, described that important event with the modesty ever attendant on true
courage,

These are the *French historian's* own words.

courage, and in praising the bravery of the *French*, he lamented, that such troops should be unnecessarily and barbarously sent to certain death by their mercilefs Commander.

On the 11th of May three assaults were successively made, in each of which the *French* were repulsed with great loss; several officers of rank and nearly eight hundred privates fell victims to *Buonaparte's* obstinacy! The same *hero!* who had wantonly sent three columns of grenadiers, at *Arcola*, to be mown down by the fire of the *Austrians*, was equally prodigal of the blood of his men at *Acre*, and re-iterated his orders for the assault with the fury of a maniac.

The steady valour of *Sir Sidney Smith*, and the determined bravery of the *English* under his command, at length convinced *Buonaparte* that, he was not *invincible*, and with a "heavy heart," he began preparations for raising the siege; this event, so glorious to the *British* arms, has rather embarrassed *Buonaparte's* historian; it would have been a dreadful thing to record a defeat, and too palpable a falsehood to call it a victory. In that dilemma, the unfortunate panegyrist has had recourse to stratagem; he has endeavoured to prove, that, *Buonaparte's* motives for raising the siege, were dictated by *humanity!!!* That he has found it a difficult task will be immediately perceived by the following extracts: "*Buonaparte* saw the end of his expedition fulfilled! The army had traversed the desert which separates *Africa* from *Asia*, and had surmounted every obstacle with constancy and rapidity The season for landing in *Egypt*, imperiously called him thither; disease made a frightful progress in *Syria*;
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it had already carried off seven hundred *French*, and by reports from *Sous*, it was understood, that more than sixty men died daily in the fort of *Acre*.

“ Influenced by these considerations, *Buonaparte* thought it would be improper to prolong his stay before *Acre*, though he had the hope, in the space of a few days, of *seizing the Pacha himself in his palace* !! But the capture of the castle of *Acre* was not worth the loss of these few days, especially as they would be accompanied with that of some brave men, whom it would be necessary to leave there, and, who would perhaps be wanted for more essential operations. All those who have been engaged in sieges against the *Turks*, know, that, they fight to the last drop of blood, their wives and children by their side, they defend the place as long as one stone remains upon another : they have no faith in capitulations, and know no law but that of murdering their enemies !

“ *Buonaparte*, therefore, determined to raise the siege ; but, as several days were necessary to carry away the sick and wounded, he ordered, that, during this interval, all the batteries of cannons and mortars should continue to play, and the remainder of the ammunition of the siege be employed in razing the palace of *Dgezzar*, the fortifications, and the building ! ”

This statement, dictated by ignorance and wilful misrepresentation, is truly worthy of the pen of *Buonaparte's* panegyrist. “ *Buonaparte* saw the end of his “ *expedition fulfilled* ! ” A more palpable falsehood never sullied the page of history. *Buonaparte* set out with the intention of conquering *Syria* ; he was stopped

ped in his progress by the unexpected resistance of *Acre*; he immediately laid siege to it in the most regular manner, and ordered his troops to make repeated and desperate assaults; he was constantly repulsed with great loss; he saw himself defeated by *Sir Sydney Smith* and a handful of men, and wearied out by his daily losses, he was reluctantly compelled to fly, although he had deemed the conquest of *Acre* so easy, that, in his dispatches, he had vauntingly said, "*Tomorrow I shall be at Acre, in three days be assured, that, Dgezzar Pacha is no more!*" *Buonaparte* could not experience a more degrading mortification. Defeated for the first time, he was obliged to traverse again the desert, without accomplishing the conquest of *Syria*; yet, his historian tells us unblushingly, "*That the end of his expedition was fulfilled.*"

"*He had surmounted every obstacle,*" is an assertion equally true. If *Buonaparte* had succeeded in his attempt; if he had destroyed the English forces, taken *Sir Sydney* prisoner, and captured *Acre*, we wonder what expression his historian would have used, since, when his hero fails in every point, he says, that he *surmounted every obstacle!*

"*Buonaparte thought it would be improper to prolong his stay before Acre, though he had the hope, in a few days, of seizing the Pacha himself in his palace.*" This is truly ludicrous! It is a common thing for an enemy, who is obliged to fly before his victorious adversary, to deem his stay improper! But that *Buonaparte*, after his numerous defeats, should express a hope of taking the *Pacha* prisoner, reminds us strongly of a passage, in a letter written by one
of

of his generals to his father at *Paris* ; speaking of *Egypt*, he says, " It is a most dreadful country ; our " army suffers unparalleled hardships and miseries, yet " *it is a colony productive of the highest advantages !* "

" — *As they would be accompanied with the loss of " some brave men !* " It will not easily be believed, that, *Buonaparte*, who sent his soldiers to certain death at *Lodi*, *Arcole*, and *Alexandria*, who caused the death of hundreds of his best troops in crossing the desert, who poisoned several hundreds of his warriors, *raised the siege of Acre from the wish of sparing the lives of some brave men !*

" *The Turks have no faith in capitulations, and know of no law but that of murdering their enemies !* " The latter assertion is an infamous falsehood, and were it true, it would come with a very ill grace from the panegyrist of *Buonaparte*, who, two months before, *had murdered four thousand Turks !* As to the *Turks having no faith in capitulations*, " we can easily believe that ; " after the massacres at *Alexandria*, *Jaffa*, &c. it was not natural, that they should place much reliance on *Buonaparte's* capitulations !

" — *Buonaparte ordered, that the remainder of the " ammunition of the siege, should be employed in razing the " palace of Dgezzar, THE FORTIFICATIONS, and the " buildings !* " This is excellent : *Buonaparte* repulsed in every point, was compelled to raise the siege ; yet, he ordered, that, the remainder of the ammunition should be employed in destroying the fortifications ! we would ask the *French gasconader*, what prevented *Buonaparte* from taking the town, while he was so sure of razing the fortifications ? Were we to credit his
assertion,

assertion, we should pay no great compliment to *Buonaparte's* courage, for it would be tacitly owning that he was afraid of engaging the *English* and *Turkish* troops, it being very evident, that when the *fortifications* were razed, the garrison would remain exposed to the attack of the *French* army, nearly treble their number! With due deference to the *French* writer's opinion, we shall hazard our own, and take upon ourselves to assert, that, *Buonaparte* had but *one* reason for raising the siege of *Acre*; but, we must allow that was a very cogent one:—" *he could not take the place.*"

On the 21st of May, in the evening, *Buonaparte* retreated from *Acre*, after a siege of more than *two months*! Thus, did the gallantry of *Sir Sydney Smith*, compel his vaunting foe to abandon a place, which, he had pompously declared, he was to take in *three days*! *Englishmen*, do not your hearts beat high with patriotic emulation? Is there one among you who is not desirous of rivalling *Sir Sydney Smith*, and of exclaiming with martial pride, "*Buonaparte* fled before me."

CHAP. XV.

Buonaparte arrives again at *Cairo*,—*Aboukir* taken by the *Turks*,—retaken again by the *French*, after a most obstinate battle the HERO *Buonaparte* deserts from the *Army*.—His farewell letter to General *Kleber*, with some observations thereon &c.

ON the fifteenth of June, *Buonaparte* reached *Cairo* with the remains of his army which had been constantly

stantly harrassed by the *Arabs*. In his route, say the *French* accounts, he *punished* all the villages which had *revolted*. Our readers are perfectly acquainted with *Buonaparte's* method of *punishing* the wretched inhabitants in similar cases; therefore, we will not enter into a detail of the atrocities which were committed.

In the beginning of July, a *Turkish* fleet anchored at *Aboukir*, and landed two thousand men, who took the town and redoubt of *Aboukir* by assault. Their behaviour to the *French* soldiers, proved the impudent falsehood of the assertion, "*that the Turks knew no law but that of murdering their enemies;*" for though they had every reason to execrate the *French*, they treated the garrison in the most honourable manner.

Buonaparte having been informed of these events, departed from *Gizeh*, on the seventeenth of July, and arrived on the twentieth at *Rahmanie*, where he was joined by the other divisions of his army. The *Turks*, having received some reinforcements, endeavoured to fortify themselves in the peninsula of *Aboukir*; but, they were attacked by the whole of the *French* army, and completely defeated. This victory has been exaggerated more than any one of *Buonaparte's* exploits in *Egypt*: "*The Ottoman army,*" said *Buonaparte* in his dispatches, "*consisted of more than seventeen thousand men: the whole of it was killed, wounded, or drowned!! Every thing fell into our possession, and ten thousand Turks were driven into the sea!!!*" The truth is, that instead of seventeen thousand, they were not eight thousand, out of which about four thousand

were

were killed and wounded in the action; two thousand were carried off by the boats, and the remainder capitulated in the fort! This *slight* mistake being rectified, the victory of *Aboukir* will not appear in such dazzling colours.

Eight days after the battle, *Aboukir* castle surrendered to *Buonaparte*. It is worthy of remark, that the engineer who directed the siege, prided himself greatly on having compelled the *Turks* to surrender in *eight days*, adding, that the situation of *Aboukir* castle was so strong, that *he* would defend it against any army. He was appointed by *Buonaparte*, commander of *Aboukir*, but he kept his promise very badly, for when the *English* forces attacked it in 1801, he surrendered it in *five days*!!

Notwithstanding the victory over the *Turks*, the affairs of the *French* became every day more precarious. The Sublime Porte determined to send another army, more powerful than the first: the *Mamelukes* and the *Arabs*, irritated at *Buonaparte's* repeated instances of cruelty and perfidy, constantly harrassed his troops, and, though they avoided regular engagements, they killed a great number of the invaders---to render the situation of the *French* more alarming, they received certain intelligence, that, the *English* intended to assist the *Turks*, and even to send a numerous army to expel them from *Egypt*.

Hitherto our task has been to enumerate *Buonaparte's* crimes and victories, with the exception of his defeat at *Acre*. We have seen the *hero of Italy* directing the massacre at *Toulon*, commanding his soldiers to fire upon the miserable inhabitants of *Paris*,
ordering

ordering the municipalities of *Pavia* and *Milan* to be shot, wading in blood at *Benasco*, *Rome*, &c. We have seen him surpassing all his horrible deeds by the murders at *Jaffa*, yet, it must be allowed, that *Buonaparte* appeared to be brave ; he shrunk not from the field of danger---he was prodigal of the lives of his men, but he ventured his own---we have now to present him in a new point of view --we shall see that man, whom infatuated individuals have called a *hero*, COWARDLY DESERT HIS BRAVE TROOPS, which he himself had transported upon distant shores. Posterity will scarcely credit, that, a general who has been celebrated as a great warrior, should command his army *only as long* as there appeared a chance of success, and, that at the first intimation of danger, he should dastardly quit his post, and abandon his troops to their fate. This however he did, and for it, he will be rewarded by the execration of succeeding ages !

He was well convinced, that, the army would not suffer him to depart---that, the men would say to him, " It was *you* who brought us here, you have commanded us while we were in a prosperous situation, and while there were any hopes of plunder---now that the moment of danger approaches, you must remain and face it with us ;" and therefore be resolved to conceal his design from every one, except *General Berthier*. Under the pretence of wanting two frigates to escort the supplies for the army, he ordered *Admiral Gantheaume* to get them ready for sea. He then sent a sealed note to every person whom he intended to take with him, with positive orders not to open

open them before the twenty-third of August, at a particular hour, and on the sea-shore. Of his generals, he took with him, *Berthier, Lannes, Andreossi, Murat, and Marmont*; and of all the members of the national institute, under the appellation of *Savans*, he took only *Denon, Monge, and Bertholet*, although he had solemnly promised never to depart for Europe without them!

It would naturally be supposed, that, *Buonaparte* felt much regret at leaving soldiers, who had so long fought under his banners, and to whom he pretended to be so much attached; on the contrary, he quitted them with perfect apathy; he addressed only the following note to the army, *but he did not deliver it himself*; he inclosed it in the letter to *Kleber*, with orders to read it to the men *after his departure*!

“*Head Quarters, Alexandria, Aug. 23, 1799.*

“*Buonaparte Commander in Chief, to the Army.*

“*In consequence of the news from Europe, I have determined immediately to return to France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber: they shall hear from me speedily: this is all that I can say to them at present. It grieves me to part from the brave men to whom I am so tenderly attached, BUT IT WILL BE ONLY FOR A MOMENT! and the General I leave at their head, fully possesses the confidence of government as well as mine.---BUONAPARTE.*” Is it possible to evince more carelessness for the fate of soldiers to whom “*he is tenderly attached.*” With unparalleled effrontery he asserts, that, he quits them “*only for a moment,*” although he was determined never to return to them.

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From the moment *Buonaparte* left *Egypt*, it is but justice to say, that, the "Army of the East," ceased to dishonour itself by pillage and cruelty. The truly brave *Kleber*, whose disposition was as noble as *Buonaparte's* is sanguinary, established such regular discipline, that, he merited the praises even of his enemies. Had he followed the instructions transmitted to him by *Buonaparte*, he would, it is true, have rendered himself equally infamous, but *Kleber* was born a great man, and it was not in the power, even of *Buonaparte*, to corrupt him. Our readers will observe, that, *Buonaparte* mentioned no orders for his recall; that would be a sufficient plea, but he merely said, that, by some *English* papers, he learned that *Italy* had been conquered by the *Austro-Russia* army, and that his presence was required in *Europe*. We shall select several extracts from his letter to *Kleber*; they do not derogate from the character of the man who "scatters desolation with a plentiful hand."

—"The Commission of the Arts shall return to *France* on board a flag of truce, which you will demand for that purpose some time in the month of November, immediately after they have completed the object of their mission. They are at present engaged in putting a finishing hand to it, by an examination of *Upper Egypt*. Nevertheless, if you think that any of them will be of service to you, you may put them in requisition without scruple!

"The arrival of the *Brest* fleet at *Toulon*, and of the *Cadix* fleet at *Carthagena*, leaves no kind of doubt of the possibility of transmitting to *Egypt*, the muskets, sabres, pistols, balls, &c. of which you stand
so

so much in need, and of which I am provided with a very exact enumeration ; together with a sufficient number of recruits to supply the losses of our two campaigns. Government itself will probably acquaint you with its intentions : *as for myself, both in my public and private capacity, I promise to take every measure for enabling you to hear frequently from France.*

“ If by a series of the most extraordinary events, none of those attempts should succeed, and you should neither receive reinforcements, nor intelligence from *France* by May next ; and if this year, in spite of all your precautions, *the plague should break out in Egypt, and carry off more than fifteen hundred of the troops*---a considerable loss in addition to that which the events of the war will daily occasion, I think, that you ought not then to venture upon another campaign, and that you are sufficiently justified in concluding a peace with the *Ottoman Porte* ; even though the evacuation of *Egypt* should be the leading article. It will merely be necessary for you to postpone the execution of it, (if such a thing be possible,) until the period of a general peace.

“ If the *Porte* should reply to the overtures I have made for peace, before my letters from *France* can reach you, it will, in that case be necessary for you to declare, that, you have all the powers with which I was intrusted ; enter upon the negociation, *and adhere strenuously and constantly to the assertion which I have advanced, that France never had the least idea of taking Egypt from the Grand Signior !!!*

“ Require the *Ottoman Porte* to separate itself from the Coalition, to set at liberty all the *French* in confinement,

finement, and to grant us the commerce of the Black Sea.

“ Supposing, however, that you should find yourself in such circumstances as you conceive make it necessary to conclude the treaty with the *Porte*, in that case you must make that power understand that you cannot execute your part of it, before it be ratified in *France*, and that, according to the usual practice of all nations, the interval between the signing and ratifying of a treaty, is always considered as a suspension of hostilities.

“ Our ships of war will certainly make their appearance this winter, either at *Alexandria*, *Brulos*, or *Damietta*. You must have a battery and a signal tower at *Brulos*. Endeavour to get together five or six hundred *Mamalukes* in such a manner, that, when the French fleet arrives, you may be able to have them seized at the same instant of time, either at *Cairo*, or in the other provinces, and send them off immediately for *France* ! If you cannot procure *Mamalukes*, *Arab* hostages, *Cheiks*, &c. will answer the end as well. These people, landed in *France*, and detained there about two years, would contemplate the grandeur of the nations ; they would acquire, in some degree, our manners and language, and at their return might prove of great utility to us !

“ Accustomed to look for the recompence of the toils and difficulties of life in the opinion of posterity, I abandon *Egypt* with the greatest regret ! . . . The army I intrust to your care, is entirely composed of my own children ! I have never ceased, even in the midst of their most trying difficulties and dangers, to receive proofs of their attachment ; endeavour to pre-
serve

serve them still in those sentiments for me, and assure them that I feel an unfeigned affection for them !

BUONAPARTE. !”

In this *precious* letter so worthy of *Buonaparte*, the following articles require particular notice ; and first, “ *The Commission of the Arts shall return to France, but if you want them, put them in requisition, &c.*” The persons who composed what he calls the “ *Commission of the Arts*” were learned men, such as *Fourier*, *Redoute*, *Nouet*, &c. who had accompanied *Buonaparte* in his expedition to *Egypt*, from a laudable desire of promoting the studies of natural history, botany, &c. or exploding some of those venerable monuments of antiquity with which *Egypt* abounds. *Buonaparte’s* admirers have maintained, that, he was the patron of learning, and, that, to be a learned man was sufficient to gain his esteem and protection ; how true their assertion is, will clearly appear from the manner in which he treated the unfortunate *Savans* who accompanied him : *he had pledged his honour never to quit Egypt without them* ; far from fulfilling his solemn promise, he not only *abandoned them* while they were employed in their scientifick researches ; but he even desired *General Kleber* to “ PUT THEM IN REQUISITION if he thought that they would be of any use !” Such is the manner in which this *patron of learning* treated its votaries ; not satisfied with deceiving them, he recommends his successor to employ them as soldiers or labouring men ! !

In the next paragraph, he expatiated on the losses which had been sustained by the army in the preceding two campaigns, and after assuring *Kleber*,
that,

that muskets, sabres, pistols, &c. should be sent immediately after his arrival, he concluded by saying, that "either in his public or private capacity, "he would take every measure to relieve their wants, and enable them to hear frequently from "*France*." After such assurances of his solicitude for their welfare and prosperity, we should suppose that he did every thing in his power to ameliorate their situation; far from that, he never bestowed a thought on the brave soldiers who composed the "*Army of the East*." We beg his pardon, and acknowledge our error; he certainly remembered his promise of alleviating the miseries of his troops, for he sent them a company of strolling comedians!! This paragraph is ludicrous,; but, the following is deserving of our most serious attention: "*If this year the plague were to carry off fifteen hundred of the troops, &c.!*" Can a Commander who speaks in that strain, have the impudence of pretending, that he "*loves his soldiers as his children?*" Another general would have said, "If the plague break out, make peace on any terms, and evacuate *Egypt* without loss of time, that our brave men may not perish by that dreadful contagion." But *Buonaparte* cared not for his men; whether the plague attacked the army or not, was perfectly equal to him; he well knew, that by the time he would have reached the *European* shores in safety, and it was a matter of so little consequence to him, that he ordered *Kleber* to wait "*until fifteen hundred of the troops had perished.*" Had *Kleber* lived, he would have arraigned *Buonaparte* before the bar of the Directory; indeed

indeed, he had solemnly promised to the army, that "he would punish *Buonaparte* for his base desertion from *Egypt*, as well as for his diabolical and inhuman massacre of the *Turks*, and poisoning of *his own men at Jaffa*." *Buonaparte* was informed of *Kleber's* intentions, and KLEBER WAS ASSASSINATED." It was such a fortunate circumstance for *Buonaparte*, that many persons have uncharitably supposed he had a hand in the transaction!

"If you be compelled to enter upon a negotiation with the Ottoman Porte, adhere strenuously and constantly to the assertion which I have so often made, that France never had the least idea of taking *Egypt* from the Grand Seignior!!!"

Though we do not entertain a very high opinion of citizen *Napoleone Buonaparte*, we confess, that, he sometimes deceives us, and astonishes us by his inconceivable effrontery. When we behold a man, attacking without the least provocation, the finest province of the Ottoman Empire; pillaging and ravaging the country, and establishing a rapacious Republican administration in every town; we exclaim, that, *Buonaparte* has hitherto been the scourge of mankind; but, when that man, after having treated *Egypt* in that manner, persists in the contemptible, glaring, and infamous falsehood, that, "he never intended to take *Egypt* from the Grand Seignior;" we profess ourselves utterly incapable of expressing the detestation with which he inspires us.

"Require the Ottoman Porte to grant us the commerce of the Black Sea, &c." An uncommon instance of audacity! The court of *Constantinople* had behaved to the *French Republic* in the most amicable manner: it had

had uniformly refused to join the coalition of the other European powers, and *Frenchmen* were treated with the greatest kindness in every province of the *Turkish* dominions; notwithstanding the bonds of amity and peace which subsisted between the two nations, *Buonaparte* invaded *Egypt*, and organized it as a French province. Many persons would suppose that to be a sufficient cause to justify *Turkey*, in vowing eternal hatred to *France*; but, *Buonaparte* thought very differently, for he seemed to be of opinion, that, the *Ottoman Porte* ought to be obliged to him, and he expected in consequence, that it would grant the free commerce of the *Black Sea* to the *French Republic*!! History furnishes but very few instances of injustice and rapacity equal to *Buonaparte's* invasion of *Egypt*; but it is without parallel, that a commander, who has been guilty of such unjustifiable conduct towards a power with which he was at peace, should demand from that *very power*, terms as favourable as if he had proved himself its most faithful ally!

“Suppose you should find yourself in such circumstances as to make it necessary to conclude a treaty with the *Porte*, inform that power, that, you cannot execute your part of it until it be ratified in *France*, and, that, ACCORDING TO THE USUAL PRACTICE OF ALL NATIONS, the interval between the signing and ratifying of a treaty, is always considered as a suspension of hostilities!!” This paragraph, replete with hypocrisy and falsehood, is truly characteristic of *Buonaparte's* policy. Thus does he treat all nations with which he is at war: haughty and tyrannical while success attends him, he has recourse to stratagem as soon as fortune proves adverse;

adverse ; he proposes terms seemingly advantageous, demands a suspension of hostilities, professes his sincere desire of making peace, and lulls his victorious opponent in a false security, during which time *Buonaparte* recruits his exhausted forces, and, grown again formidable, he despises the faith of treaties, breaks the conditions which he had *himself proposed*, and appears again the proud relentless tyrant ! Such was evidently his intention, when he made peace with our court ; his navy was destroyed ; the army of the East was dispersed ! *Egypt* had been wrested from him by the dauntless bravery of our troops ; in that hopeless situation, he repeated his ardent wish of putting an end to the warfare which desolated *Europe* ; our ministers believed him sincere, and peace was made ; scarcely was the definitive treaty signed, when *Buonaparte* sought to increase his power, and enlarge his dominions in the most unwarrantable manner, and as soon as he found himself able to cope with *Great Britain*, he openly avowed his intention of renewing hostilities, unless we consented to his imperious and oppressive mandates ! With such a man, it is preferable to be at war, and we hesitate not, to assert, that there will be no tranquility in *Europe* until he be conquered. *Britons*, be yours the glorious task ! Let the surrounding nations, rejoicing in peace, exclaim, " WE RECEIVED
" IT FROM THE CHILDREN OF ALBION ! "

" Endeavour to get together five or six hundred *Malukes*, in such a manner, that, when the French fleet arrives, you may seize them at the same instant of time either at *Cairo* or in the other provinces, and send them off immediately for France. If you cannot procure
X Mamalukes

“*Mamelukes; ARAB HOSTAGES, Cheiks, &c. will answer the end as well. These people detained in France for about two years, &c.*” What execrable policy! *Buonaparte* had ravaged that unfortunate country; he had caused the destruction of more than “forty thousand of the inhabitants,” and he was not yet satisfied; he saw the moment of retribution approaching: unwilling to meet it as a man, he fled and abandoned his army, yet he could not quit the devoted shores of *Egypt*, without ordering some new atrocity, and he commanded the brave *Kleber* to seize five or six hundred of the harmless and peaceful inhabitants, tear them from their distracted families, and send them to *France*!! “SEND ARAB HOSTAGES, IF YOU CANNOT GET MAMALUKES;” said this scourge of humanity! *Hostages*, who in all ages have been respected; who, among the most barbarous nations, have been deemed sacred, and have been treated with respectful kindness, as long as the power that delivered them adhered to the conditions of the treaty. Who will dare to say, that the *Arabs* infringed them? Yet *Buonaparte* ordered their hostages to be torn from their friends and sent to *France* to experience contempt and derision, if not harsh and cruel treatment! And this at the time that he was instructing his successor to leave *Egypt* in peace! Our readers will be pleased to learn that *Kleber* disdained to obey that sanguinary order: he treated the inhabitants of *Egypt* with kindness; and though considerably more valorous in battle than *Buonaparte*, he was merciful to the vanquished,

vanquished, and gained the esteem, even of his enemies.

"*Accustomed to look for the recompence of the toils and difficulties of life in the opinion of posterity, I abandon Egypt with the deepest regret !*" Buonaparte has certainly an uncommon share of effrontery. It was in the presence of Kleber, that, he had laid Italy waste ; that he ravaged and plundered Egypt ; that he had murdered the Turkish prisoners, and poisoned his own soldiers, yet he unblushingly tells him, "*I look for recompence in the opinion of posterity !*" His name, it is true, will be long remembered :—long will his horrid deeds blacken the page of history, but of him will it be said as it was of Attila, "**ONLY FOR HIS CRIMES,** *posterity would not know that he ever existed !*"

An equal share of assurance was evidently requisite to enable him to tell Kleber, "*I abandon Egypt with the deepest regret !*" He had remained with the army as long as success had attended his undertakings and while there was any town or village to plunder. When the Ottoman forces seriously threatened Egypt, and particularly when it was known, that, Great Britain intended to send some troops to their assistance, then did the magnanimous Buonaparte abandon the remainder of his army to its fate : he was ashamed of acknowledging the true motive of his flight, and he could assign no other ; yet, he assured Kleber, that, "he left Egypt with the deepest regret ! !"

"*The army I intrust to your care, is entirely composed of my children. I have never ceased, even in the midst of their most trying difficulties and dangers, to receive proofs of their attachment.*" There is more truth contained

tained in those two assertions, than in all the preceding parts of *Buonaparte's* letter. The soldiers who composed the "army of the East," were the same who had fought with him in *Italy*, so that they had been under his command during four campaigns: two in *Italy*, and two in *Egypt*; and it is likewise true, that, they had given him several "proofs of their attachment." Indeed, their obedience to his commands, after his treatment of them, was alone, a very strong proof of their attachment; but, who can deny that *Buonaparte* loved them in return? Did he not wantonly and unnecessarily cause the slaughter of thousands at *Lodi* and *Arcola*? Did he not sacrifice one hundred and fifty of them at the storming of *Alexandria*, when he could have saved them, merely by summoning the town? Did he not poison nearly six hundred, because they were sick and wounded? And lastly, did he not desert them basely at the very moment that he ought to have stood by them? *Who will pretend to say that he did not treat them as his children!!!*

"*Endeavour to preserve them still in these sentiments for me. This is due to the particular esteem and friendship which I entertain for you, and to the unfeigned affection I feel for them.*" *Buonaparte*, for the first time, appeared rather diffident; He began to fear, that, "*the proofs of affection,*" which he had given to his men might have decreased their attachment for him, and he *modestly* desired *Kleber* to endeavour to preserve them in those sentiments; but, *Buonaparte* soon resumed his hypocritical cant; he professed "a particular esteem and friendship" for
Kleber

Kleber, whom he detested for his great and good qualities ! It will scarcely be believed, that, *Buonaparte*, whom his admirers represent as a pattern of *humility*, should have been highly offended at the friendly expression that *Kleber* made use of a short time after their landing in *Egypt*. “ *Kleber*, who wished to heal up some differences which had existed between them, began his letter with the fraternal term of “ *comrade*.”

——— *Comrade ! Comrade !* exclaimed *Buonaparte*, furiously, “ *What pretensions of any nature can authorize Kleber to address ME as an EQUAL !* Another very great, and equally just motive, why *Buonaparte* hated *Kleber*, was the observation that the latter made relative to the siege of *Acre*.: “ *We attacked it à la Turque*, (after the *Turkish* fashion,) and we found it defended by *Europeans*.” *Buonaparte* never forgave that sarcastick remark, and yet he professed a “ *particular esteem and friendship*” for a man whom he inwardly detested ! A late publication, compiled, we believe by an emigrant, accuses *Buonaparte* of having caused *Kleber’s* assassination ; we will not say that the charge is true ! but, certain it is, that, it was a most fortunate circumstance for *Buonaparte*, as *Kleber* had pledged himself to punish him for having deserted his army, and particularly for his conduct at *Jaffa*. *Kleber*, who was adored by the army, and whose bravery and military talents were superior to those of any officer in the *French* service, would have found it no difficult task to collect a sufficient number of troops to realize his menace.—Incalculable are the benefits that would have followed that great event ! *France* would be tranquil under a mild government ;

Peace

Peace and Commerce would scatter their blessings on the shores of *Great Britain*, and the nations of *Europe* would repose in happiness.—But, for inscrutable motives, the Omnipotent decreed it otherwise.

A trait in *Buonaparte's* conduct while in *Egypt* must not be omitted especially as it can be authenticated by the most respectable testimony. Several of *Buonaparte's* friends have endeavoured to extenuate his rapacity and universal pillage, by saying, that, he was compelled to plunder, and levy contributions, as he would have been unable to pay his troops without those means : We might easily make it appear, that even in that case the crime would be equally atrocious, but we will do more, we can prove that *Buonaparte appropriated the whole of the plunder and the amount of his repeated contributions to his own private use !* for when he fled from *Egypt*, the troops had received no pay, and yet not a parat (or farthing,) was left in the military chest !! Take *Kleber's* own words in his letter to the Directory ; “ *General Buonaparte exhausted the extraordinary resources within a few months after our arrival ! He levied at that time as extensive a military contribution as the country could possibly support ! To have recourse a second time to this expedient, would only pave the way for an insurrection the first favourable moment. At our first arrival here, requisitions were made in all the towns for the immediate subsistence of the troops. These have never been paid for ! Extraordinary contributions were levied upon the merchants, and tradesmen ! The effects of the Mamalukes were also seized on our arrival, their wives have been made to pay an extraordinary*

extrordinary imposition !! Notwithstanding all this, *Buonaparte*, at quitting us, *did not leave behind him a single sou in the military chest, or any thing capable of being turned into money !* He left on the contrary a debt of eleven millions !! The pay of the army alone is in arrear full four millions ! Every syllable, Citizen Directors, which I here advance, I can authenticate, either by verbal processes, or by estimates of the different service, regularly signed !" Thus is it unquestionably proved, that, *Buonaparte* after having pillaged every town and village in *Egypt*, exacted the most enormous contributions, and amassed prodigious sums of money, *left his army in want of every thing*, rifled the military chest, and departed for *France* without feeling any anxiety for the fate of those men who were all HIS CHILDREN ! !"

Before we follow *Buonaparte* in his *glorious* return to *Europe*, we find ourselves called upon to present to our readers several *valuable* extracts from the *last* despatches that he wrote in *Egypt* ; we mean his letter to the *Grand Vizier*, which is replete with falsehood, meanness, hypocrisy, and blasphemy.

" Alas ! *Why*, after having been friends for so many years, do the sublime *Porte* of the *French Republic* find themselves now at war ? It is because the boundaries of the two states are *so distant* from each other, that they fight ? And, is it because the courts of *Germany* and *Russia*, border on the territories of the *Sublime Porte*, that they have united themselves with it ?

" Your Excellency cannot be ignorant, that, the *French* nation, without exception, is *extremely attached* to

to the *Sublime Porte*. Endowed as your Excellency is, with the most distinguished talents, and acquainted with the real interests of courts, can it have escaped you, that the *Russians* and *Austrians* have conspired against the *Sublime Porte*, and, that, the *French* on the contrary, are using every possible effort to counteract their wicked designs! You know that the Emperor of *Russia* is the enemy of the Mussulman faith, and that the *French* have the same belief as you have, "There is no God but the true God." Is it not very strange, that, the *Sublime Porte*, which was the friend of *France*, while she was a *Christian* nation, should declare war against her the instant she adopted the *Mussulman* faith? The courts of *England* and *Russia* have led the *Sublime Porte* into an error. We had informed it by letters of our intended expedition into *Arabia*; but those courts found means to intercept and conceal our papers, and, as if I had not proved to the *Sublime Porte* that the *French Republic*, far from wishing to deprive it of its domains, had not even the smallest intention of making war on them! his most glorious Majesty, *Sultan Selim*, gave credit to the *English*, and conceived an aversion for the *French*, his ancient friends. The *Sublime Porte*, without waiting for the *French* minister *Descorches*, who had already left *France* for *Constantinople*, and without enquiring what were the motives for my conduct, declared war against the *French*, with the most unaccountable precipitation. Although I was informed of this war, I despatched *Beauchamp*, consul of the *Republic* in the *Caravel*, in full confidence of terminating it, and while I was expecting the answer of the *Sublime Porte* by the same conveyance, I found

found that he had been thrown into prison, and by *Turkish* troops dispatched to *Gaza*, with orders to take possession of *Arabia*.

“ Upon this, I thought it more adviseable to make war there, than in the territory of *Egypt*, and I was obliged, *in spite of myself* to cross the desert.

“ Although my army is as *innumerable as the sands of the sea*, full of courage, inured to war in the highest degree, and victorious: *although it is completely provided with every thing*; though I have castles and fortresses of prodigious strength; and, though the centre and extremities of the desert are fortified by batteries of cannon: *although I have no fear or apprehension of any kind*; though I have no precautions to take, *and that it is impossible for me to be overcome!* Nevertheless, out of commiseration for the human race, respect for those honourable ways of proceeding, which are respected by all nations, and, above all, out of a desire to be reunited to the first and truest of our allies, His most glorious majesty, Sultan *Selim*, I now make manifest my disposition for peace. It is certain, that the *Sublime Porte* can never realize its wishes by force of arms, and that its happiness can be effectual only by a pacific conduct! Whatever armies may march against *Cairo*, *I can repulse them all!* And yet I will facilitate, as much as possible, every proposition which shall be made to me tending to peace. The instant the *Sublime Porte* shall have detached itself from our enemies, the *Russians* and *English*, there cannot be a doubt but that the *French Republic* will renew and re-establish in the completest manner,

the bases of peace and friendship with the *Sublime Porte* !

“ *If you wish to have Egypt, tell me so ! France has never entertained an idea of taking it out of the hands of the Sublime Porte, and keeping it for herself !! Give authority to your minister who is at Paris, or send one to Egypt, with full and unlimited powers, and all shall be arranged according to your wish !*

“ Enter upon the way that will enable you to take vengeance on your enemies ! Labour to consolidate and strengthen the foundations of the *Ottoman* empire ; employ all your influence to prevent the acceptance of the propositions that will be made to you by your enemies, as well as to turn aside the terrible and destructive projects which they may unhappily have set on foot at this moment ! As you have had during the past, so many motives to *abhor the Russians*, is it wise to abandon the *Black sea* to them, rather than to exact vengeance for their conduct towards the *Sublime Porte* ! Say but a single word on this last subject, and I will exert myself FOR YOUR ADVANTAGE ! The *French* army is by no means desirous of convincing the *Ottoman* forces of its discipline and courage : it would rather unite with them in punishing their common enemies !”

Though we do not wish to detain our readers with remarks upon every contemptible and hypocritical assertion contained in that singular specimen of *Buonaparte's* composition, we cannot consign it

to the scorn of the world, without noticing some of the most remarkable passages:

“*Alas WHY, after having been friends for so many years, do they now find themselves at war?*” We have given several proofs of *Buonaparte's* astonishing effrontery, but this will be found to surpass all the former. The *Ottoman Porte* was at peace with the *French Republic*: it had testified its ardent desire of continuing to live in amity with that power, and had strictly refused to join the coalition.—*Buonaparte, in return*, landed an army of forty thousand men on the coast of *Egypt*, and took possession of that country. The *Sublime Porte*, exasperated at such an unheard-of act of injustice, declared war against the perfidious Republic, which had thus evinced its utter contempt for the rights and laws of nations; and yet, *Buonaparte* enquired of the Grand Vizier, “*Why they found themselves at war?*”

“*Your excellency cannot be ignorant that the French Nation IS EXTREMELY ATTACHED to the Sublime Porte!*” As it is possible that many persons would find themselves inclined to *discredit that assertion*, we shall, in justice to *Buonaparte's character*, observe, that after he had ravaged the most extensive province of the *Turkish dominions*, and caused the death of forty thousand of the natives, after he had sent revolutionary incendiaries to all the principal towns in *Syria*, and lastly, after he had massacred above four thousand *Turkish* prisoners at *Jaffa*, no one could doubt the “*extreme attachment of the French nation for the Sublime Porte!!*”

Endowed

Endowed as your Excellency is with the most distinguished talents, and acquainted with the real interests of Courts, can it have escaped you that the Russians and Austrians have conspired against the Sublime Porte, and that the French on the contrary, are using every possible effort to counteract their wicked designs!! There are no words strong enough to point out the audacity, folly, and insult blended in that paragraph. Buonaparte who had just complimented the *Grand Vizier* on his "*distinguished talents*," wished to persuade him that the *Russians* and *Austrians*, who were at peace with the *Ottoman Porte*, and who manifested even a desire of assisting that Power, were in fact its enemies while he had the impudence to call *himself its friend!* and to declare, that, his troops were exerting themselves to counteract the hostile intentions of the *Russian* and *German* monarchs. What indescribable contempt do we not feel for a tyrant who has recourse to such base and unmanly artifices!

"*The Sublime Porte, who was the friend of France, while she was a Christian Nation, has declared war against her, the instant she adopted the MUSSULMAN FAITH!*" Buonaparte persisted to the last in the abominable falsehood which he had first uttered a year before, when he landed in *Egypt*—He then publicly denied *Christ*, and professed himself a *Mahometan!* Not satisfied with that, he declared that all his soldiers were *Mussulmen!* The Manifesto which the *Porte* published, completely refuted that absurd and truly despicable assertion---No one believed it—*Buonaparte* was too well known. But two years before he had professed himself the warm advocate

advocate of Christianity, and the Defender of the Catholick Church ! It was therefore plain, that, the farce of professing Mahometanism was intended only as a lure, to deceive the miserable *Egyptians*, and induce them to submit to his tyranny.—Yet, unheeding of the odium, which would necessarily result from a repetition of what the *Grand Vizier* knew to be false, he accused the *Ottoman Porte* of inconsistency, and wondered that it should have declared war against the *French Republic*, now, that it had adopted the Mussulman faith, while the *Grand Seignior* had been the friend of *France*, all the time that it was a Christian nation ! *Buonaparte*, throughout all his letters to the *Grand Vizier*, as well as in all his proclamations, seemed to be of opinion, that, the *Ottoman Porte* ought to have felt grateful for his conquest and organization of *Egypt* ! and affecting to be unable to account for the declaration of war, he did not blush to tell the *Grand Vizier*, that, it was immediately after the adoption of the religion of *Mahomet*, that the *Sublime Porte* had commenced hostilities against the *French* nation ! !

“ *The Courts of England and Russia have led the*
 “ *Sublime Porte into an error---We had informed it*
 “ *by letters of our intended expedition into Arabia,*
 “ *but those Courts found means to intercept and con-*
 “ *ceal our papers ; and his Most Glorious Majesty Sul-*
 “ *tan Selim has conceived an aversion for the French*
 “ *his ancient friends !*” Detestable rhapsody ! The
 Courts of *England* and *Russia* led the *Sublime Porte*
 into an error, because they pointed out to her the
 atrocity of *Buonaparte's* conduct ! Alas ! it was not
 necessary

- . necessary---his cruelties---his assassinations were extended "far and wide," the cries of the numberless victims of his ferocity had reached the court of *Constantinople*. The truth of his assertion, that, "he had informed the Porte of his expedition," will be immediately discovered by perusing the following passage in General *Kleber's* letter to the Grand *Vizier* after *Buonaparte's* departure. "I trust that the Sublime Porte will not be surprised or offended at *Buonaparte's* NOT INFORMING HER of his intended expedition in *Egypt*, as it would have been impossible to do it, without the *English* minister's learning it, and consequently taking measures to prevent the landing of the *French* troops, &c." Notwithstanding that *Buonaparte* positively declared, that he had written to *Constantinople* to inform the *Ottoman* Court of his design to penetrate into *Arabia*, and that the Courts of *England* and of *Russia* had intercepted and concealed his letters! Not satisfied with that palpable falsehood, he calumniated the Cabinets of *St. James* and *Petersburgh*, and accused them of secreting his confidential dispatches! Surely the day is not far distant, when *even Frenchmen* will wonder, that such a man was ever called a hero!

"The Sublime Porte, without waiting for the arrival of the French Minister *Descorches*, and without inquiring what were the motives for my conduct, declared war against the French, with the most UNACCOUNTABLE PRECIPITATION!" When the *Ottoman* Porte learned the invasion of *Egypt*, it appealed to all *Europe* for the propriety of its conduct

lust towards the *French Republic*, and having ex-
 atiated on the perfidy of that power, it declared
 its intention of having recourse to force, if the
French troops did not evacuate *Egypt*.—As soon
 as the five Directors were informed of that event,
 they sent "*Citizen Descorches*, to *Constantinople*, to
 assure the *Grand Seignior*, that the *French Repub-*
lic was as desirous as ever of living in amity with
him, and that she had no hostile views in sending an
army to Egypt!! The *Ottoman Court*, however,
 deeming the invasion of *Egypt*, and the pillaging
 of the inhabitants, sufficient causes for declaring war,
 did not wait for the arrival of *Citizen Descorches*."
 This appeared a heavy crime in *Buonaparte's* eyes,
 and he complained bitterly, that the *Sublime Porte*,
 without enquiring what were the motives of his
 conduct, had declared war with the "most unac-
 countable precipitation."

"*I thought it more adviseable to make war in Ara-*
bia, than in the territory of Egypt; and I was ob-
liged, in spite of myself, to cross the desert!" How
 extremely distressed *Buonaparte* must have been! How
 pathetically he described the cruel necessity of com-
 mitting any act of hostility towards the *Sublime Porte*,
 for whom he evidently entertained such sentiments of
 esteem and friendship! The great, the good, the mer-
 ciful *Buonaparte*, who never shed blood, who treated
 the inhabitants of *Egypt* with exemplary kindness,
 and who had conquered that country only to oblige
 the *Grand Seignior*, was reduced to the dire necessity of
 'crossing the desert,' and against his will to, "make
 "war

“war in Arabia ! !” In one instance, we believe that he crossed the desert “in spite of himself,” and that was after his ignominious defeat and shameful flight from *St. Jean d’Acre*, defended by *Sir Sidney Smith* and a few *British* soldiers!

“*Although my army is as innumerable as the sands of the sea ! Although I have castles and fortresses in the centre, and in the extremity of the desert ! Although I have no apprehension of any kind : though I have no precautions to take, and that it is IMPOSSIBLE I should be overcome ; nevertheless, OUT OF COM-* MISERATION FOR THE HUMAN RACE ; *respect for those honourable ways of proceeding, which are respected by all nations, &c. I now make manifest my disposition for Peace !*” How truly characteristic of *Buonaparte* ! Half his army was destroyed ! yet, he said that, it was innumerable as the sands of the sea ! He had no apprehensions of any kind, yet, he deserted his army, and *fled* with precipitation ! It was *impossible* to overcome him ; yet, *he had been defeated* but three months before ! During six years, he had evinced a contempt for all sacred and moral obligations ;—the laws of war, and the rights of nations, had alike been violated by him ; in every battle, he had manifested the greatest insensibility, at the destruction of his soldiers ! the lives of the prisoners had always been objects of indifference to him, yet he assured the *Grand Vizier*, that, it was merely “out of commiseration for the human race, and respect for the honourable ways of proceeding, respected by all nations, that, he wished for peace ! !”

“*The*

“ *The instant the Sublime Porte shall have detached
 “ itself from OUR enemies, the Russians and English,
 “ there cannot be a doubt but that the French Repub-
 “ lic will re-establish in the completest manner, the basis
 “ of friendship and peace with the Sublime Porte !”*

At the time that *Great Britain* was nobly assisting the distressed *Turks*, against their perfidious enemy ; and it may truly be said, at the moment that the *English* forces were upholding the tottering powers of the *Ottoman Court*, it is inconceivable, that *Buonaparte* should have had the audacity, in writing to the *Grand Vizier*, to term the *English* OUR ENEMIES ; How must the *Ottoman* minister have execrated the wretch, who, not content with plundering and devastating the dominions of the *Grand Seignior*, endeavoured to prejudice him against the only government that had assisted him, and enabled him to stop the progress of *Buonaparte* in *Syria*.

“ *If you wish to have Egypt, tell me so ! France
 “ has never entertained an idea of taking it out of the
 “ hands of the Sublime Porte, and keep it for herself !”*

So *Buonaparte* sails from *France* with the intention of making *Egypt* a *French* colony, and undermining the power of the *English* in the *East Indies*. Effects a landing, takes *Alexandria*, *Damietta*, *Rosetta*, *Grand Cairo*, &c. ; imposes the heaviest contributions on the merchants of those cities ; pillages the inhabitants of all the villages, and repeatedly commits the most atrocious acts of cruelty ; placed a strong garrison in every town throughout *Upper and Lower Egypt* that had submitted ; and then deliberately assures the *Grand*

Vizier, that "*France* never entertained any idea of "taking it from the hands of the Sublime Porte!!!" Exquisite *moderation* and *modesty* indeed! And though, in consequence of that unexpected aggression, the Sublime Porte issued a proclamation, and testified its determination of re-possessing itself of *Egypt* by force of arms, and accordingly declared war against *France*; yet *Buonaparte* was *so much in doubt*, whether the Porte set any value or not upon *Egypt*, that *he applied to the Grand Vizier for information*;—"If you wish to have *Egypt*, tell me so!!"

"Having had, during the past, *so many motives to* "abhor the *Russians*, is it wise to abandon the *Black Sea* to them, instead of exacting vengeance? Say but a single word on this last subject, and I will exert myself "FOR YOUR ADVANTAGE!" &c. It is curious to hear *Buonaparte* speaking of the "*many motives*" the *Turks* had to "abhor the *Russians*." It is true that *Suwarrow's* conduct at the taking of fort *Ismael*, was highly reprehensible; but, that excepted, the war between the *Turks* and the *Russians* had been marked by no traits of barbarity. Instead of that, what had been the conduct of *Buonaparte* towards the *Turkish* inhabitants of *Egypt*, and particularly towards the prisoners? That of an unprincipled barbarian who had less regard to the "*laws of nations*," than the anthropophagi of the *North America*! His advice relative to the commerce of the *Black Sea*, betrayed too plainly "the rapacity of his disposition, at the same time, that it exhibited him what he really is," a "cringing hypocrite!" After all his diabolical cruelties towards the subjects of the *Ottoman Empire*, he pretended

pretended to be anxious for their welfare, and offered to "exert himself for their advantage," by attacking the *Russians, who were the real friends of the Turks!!*

We shall now quit the *Egyptian* shores, polluted by *Buonaparte's* crimes, and we shall follow him to *Europe*, and trace new scenes of rapine and desolation. We shall see a man who cowardly deserted his army in the moment of danger, *propose himself* as a legislator, qualified to preside and enact laws and regulations for thirty millions of inhabitants! And what is still more singular, we shall behold those thirty millions of inhabitants tamely submit to the most abject and degraded slavery, although they had for ten years been striving with all *Europe* to obtain the blessings of liberty! They succeeded so far as to have it in *their own power* to be freemen or slaves:—strange infatuation! They chose the latter, and bowed their neck passively to *Buonaparte's* yoke!

CHAPTER XVI.

Buonaparte escapes the vigilance of the British cruisers and arrives in France, where he is joyfully received—Puts himself at the head of a new revolution—With a detachment of grenadiers breaks up the assembly of the Council of Five Hundred—has a narrow escape with his life—Afterwards harangues the Council of Elders, who decree France should be governed by Consuls, of whom Buonaparte is chosen First.

THE astonishing and unmerited good fortune which had attended Buonaparte in his expeditions, did not abandon him in his passage to Europe. English ships of war of every denomination, swarmed in the Mediterranean, yet not one saw the frigate which carried Buonaparte!

On the first of October, 1799, he arrived at his native town, *Ajaccio*, in the island of *Corfica*; and, after remaining there until the fifth, he set sail, and on the eighth he landed at *St. Rapheau*, where he was received with great acclamations.

The joy with which Buonaparte was welcomed, will appear very natural, after a little consideration. The miserable Frenchmen were tired of the dreadful life which they had led for ten years; they had beheld the blood of their friends and relatives streaming from the fatal guillotine; the chiefs of the different parties which had reigned alternately, were equally sanguinary. Whether *Marat*, *Barrere*, *Robespierre*, *Carriere*, *Barras*, *Rewbell*, or *La Reveillere Lepaux* presided, it had been the same to them. Murders, violations, assassi-

nations

nations, and proscriptions, filled the pages of the Republican calendar. The *first* National Assembly had committed many crimes; but, they were surpassed by those which were sanctioned by the *second*; the miseries of the wretched inhabitants were carried to their highest point, under the execrable leaders of the Convention, and the five Directors rivalled in cruelty, their detestable predecessors. The *French* wished for a change, and indeed it was very natural they should. Any form appeared to them preferable to that which had been established by the last revolution: to add to their distresses, their armies had been defeated; *Italy* had been wrested from them, and the *Russians* and *Austrians* threatened the frontiers—it was in that critical moment that *Buonaparte* arrived from *Egypt*. The recollection of his victories in *Italy*, made them hail him as their deliverer: his crimes were unknown to the greater part of the multitude; they viewed him only as a conqueror, who, they imagined, had left *Egypt* purposely to come to their assistance, and rescue them from destruction. Impressed with those ideas, they received *Buonaparte* with enthusiasm through all the towns through which he passed. Alas! poor infatuated *Frenchmen*, they have paid dearly for their error: long will they have to lament that *Buonaparte* again landed on their shores; and if the least susceptibility of shame or remorse can exist in the breasts of a set of base and infamous regicides, the oppression and tyranny of the *Corfican* despot will compel them even to regret the tranquillity and happiness which they enjoyed under

der the mild sovereign whom they savagely murdered !

As soon as *Buonaparte* had arrived at *Paris*, he affected such patriotism and anxiety for the welfare of the Republic, that the number of his friends increased daily ; he particularly took care to gain the esteem and good opinion of the generals as well as of the army, and he easily succeeded : the convulsed state of the capital was peculiarly fortunate for *Buonaparte's* designs. . . . His panegyrist has given such an animated description of the " *blessings of republican France,*" that we will for once agree with him, only begging his pardon for thinking that no alteration has taken place since *Buonaparte's* accession to the Consulate ;

" Nothing was to be found but venality, disorder and devouring putrification in the social body, sinking beneath its afflictions. Invisible legions of spies and informers pursuing their odious tasks, had become indispensable to a weak administration, steering without compass or guide. Suspicion and fear lurked in every mind ; confidence and friendship were totally annihilated ; distrust and egotism contracted and dried up every heart, and banished affectionate sentiments. An insurmountable apathy prevailed amongst all individuals, relative to the interests of the State. Every thing was put up at public auction ; offices and treasuries were become objects of traffic ; justice was only a name, patriotism a mask, liberty a phantom, and virtue a deception. Perfidious machinations, and obscure intrigues, in which the vile passion of cupidity conducted the steps of the legislators, involved every

every one in perplexity.—All the political sects were busy in speculating on the public misfortunes, and plots and conspiracies were gathering on all sides. —Some wished a foreign prince; others would have a dictator: or plunge us again into the billows of arbitrary proceedings: assassinations were organized, and the government remained silent! The nation was disgusted and betrayed; **THE INTENT OF THE REVOLUTION HAD FAILED**; the exterior presented a frightful aspect; the armies were discouraged, and become the prey of contractors; an honourable peace could not be made, as the troops were fighting in the name of a Republic, **EXISTING BUT IN NAME**; friendly nations, and republics created by France, **WERE OPPRESSED AND DESPOILED BY THE VERY POWER WHICH OUGHT TO HAVE PROTECTED THEM**; and corrupting gold had found its way into the directorial palace, as well as into the senate."

This was written by a *foi-disant* Republican, by the faithful panegyrist of *Buonaparte*. Read this ye violent *Jacobins*, ye who delight in confusion and anarchy —ye who overthrow every regular government under pretence of giving unlimited freedom to the people, read this, and then tell the world what benefits the unhappy *Frenchmen* derived from their celebrated revolution—they demolished the *Bastille*, they set fire to the most magnificent edifices, they abolished monarchy, murdered their sovereign, drowned and guillotined thousands and tens of thousands, men, women, and children; after all those crimes, was their condition ameliorated? Were the advantages resulting from
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those detestable deeds such as to make the inhabitants forget their miseries?—The above statement is the best answer.

Buonaparte's friends, and those whom he had bribed by promises and rewards, met on the seventh of November at the house of *Le Mercier*, who was president of the Council of Elders.—There, having determined on the most proper method for effecting this *new revolution*, they fixed on the 9th of *November*; and awaited the day with the impatience of men who are eager to exalt themselves by the ruin of their fellow creatures.

On the morning of that fatal day, the Council of Elders issued a decree, by which they ordered the Legislative Body to be transferred to *St. Cloud*; *Buonaparte* was of course nominated to carry it into execution, and he was appointed commandant of all the troops in *Paris*. In the mean time, *Buonaparte* had assembled at his house in the *RUE DES VICTOIRES*, all the Generals, on whom he could depend—when the welcome decree was notified to him, he set out for the *Thuileries*, and having read it, he addressed the representatives in the following pompous speech :

“ Citizen Representatives, the Republic was perishing—you became acquainted with it, and you have ensured its safety by your decree. *Wo be to them who seek to disturb it!* I will take care to *secure* them, and Generals *Berthier* and *Lefebvre*, as well as my companions in arms, will lend me their assistance. Let no person revert to the past for examples to retard your progress,

progress, for nothing can be found in history to equal the end of the eighteenth century!

"Your wisdom has issued the decree—our arms shall put it into execution! We will have a republic founded on the right basis, on civil liberty and national representation—we will have it, I swear! I swear it in my own name, and in that of my fellow soldiers!!!"

In bombast and falsehood, this speech is not inferior to any of *Buonaparte's* addresses and proclamations, yet it contains some assertions, which it must be allowed are indisputable. Indeed, it is but too true, that the "end of the eighteenth century," will disgrace the annals of history more than all the foulest deeds committed by the *Assyrian, Persian, Grecian, or Roman* tyrants—*Buonaparte* spoke positively, and well he might; he had no need of having recourse to *Robespierre's* or *Carriere's* atrocities; he was very sure that *his own crimes* had never been equalled.

"Woe be to them who seek to disturb the safety of the Republic! *I will take care to secure them!*" *Buonaparte* certainly kept his word, for many persons whom he deemed *suspicious*, were *secured* and confined in prisons and dungeons. It is needless to add, that, those men who disapproved *Buonaparte's* arbitrary measures were accused by him of wishing to disturb the safety of the Republic!

"We will have a Republic founded on *civil liberty, &c.*" Very few of our readers will stand in need of facts to prove how *Buonaparte* has deluded and deceived the people of *France*.—The epithet, "*French Republic, founded on civil liberty,*" is at last disused; and no man would have the audacity of using it now,

except *Buonaparte*, who, although he has enslaved *France* more despotically than ever *Mahomet* the second enslaved the *Ottoman Empire*, dares to stamp the sacred name of liberty on all his sanguinary edicts.

"I swear it in my own name, &c.!" We shall have several opportunities of proving *how well Buonaparte* has kept his oath, but, violating the most sacred asseveration, is one of his least crimes! In his proclamation to the troops, appeared the following passages:—"*Robbery has been reduced to system*—the resources of the state are drained; *recourse has been had to vexatious means, repugnant alike to justice and good sense: the soldier has been left without defence.* Where are those heroes, the hundred thousand comrades whom I left covered with laurels? what is become of them?—Alas! they are no more!" What consummate hypocrisy! *Buonaparte* who had plundered and ravaged *Genoa, Piedmont, Milan, Rome, Venice, and Tuscany*; and who had committed the most horrid depredations in *Egypt*, here dares to accuse the Directory of deeds which might almost be termed innocent when contrasted with his own; but to whatever degree of insolence his despotic disposition may carry him we need not be surprised; what should we think else of the man who cowardly deserted his army, consisting of *men whom he professed to love*, and abandon it in a distant country, surrounded by enemies, and destitute of necessary arms and supplies; coming forward with the daring effrontery to impress on the minds of the *Parisian* soldiery, that by the *victory* "the soldier had been left without defence!"

"Where are those heroes the hundred thousand
men,

men, whom I left covered with laurels? what is become of them? alas! they are no more!!"—How dare *Buonaparte* ask for his hundred thousand comrades, who himself had caused the slaughter of above fifty thousand!—While the shades of *five hundred* of his comrades, whom he basely poisoned, hovered around him, yet had he the detestable effrontery to affect regret for the loss of their companions who had died gloriously! and not by the arts of a concealed dastardly assassin!

Two of the Directors, *Gohier* and *Moulin*, were arrested and confined in their apartments. *Barras* sent in his resignation, and was treated with great insolence by *Buonaparte*. No treatment could be too severe for *Barras*, but he ought not to have received it from the man, whom he had raised from obscurity, and whom he had appointed General of the army of *Italy*; but gratitude is too noble a virtue, to penetrate into *Buonaparte's* bosom. *Barras* was accordingly sent to his estate under an escort of thirty horsemen!

The Council of Five Hundred were more refractory than the Council of *Elders*; *Lucien Buonaparte* was president, and used his utmost endeavours to persuade the members to acknowledge the supremacy of his brother, but his arguments were vain, and the worthy president dissolved the sitting.

He does not dishonour *Napoleone*—he is qualified to be his brother. In 1793 and 1794, he was president of the club of Jacobins at St. *Maximin*, and superintendant of the military provisions; being embarrassed in his circumstances, he made love to the daughter

daughter of the man at whose tavern he lodged, and married her; the old man treated him with great kindness, and made him several valuable presents. *Lucien* returned his good treatment, and the virtuous affection of his wife, exactly "*à la Buonaparte*;" when, by intrigue, he was appointed Minister of the Interior, he thought a tavern keeper's daughter unworthy of bearing his name, and with the help of a dose of poison, he immediately removed that obstacle!

The next day (November the tenth) the Council of Five Hundred assembled at *St. Cloud*, and agreed, that every member should take an oath to defend the Constitution. *Buonaparte*, who was informed that the majority was against him, resolved to have recourse to force, and he accordingly entered the hall, with a detachment of grenadiers.—The tumult and confusion produced by that arbitrary measure were very great—all the members called out, that no General ought to be admitted in the hall; that they wanted no dictator, and that he deserved to be outlawed. Several of them attempted to turn him out; an Italian, named *Arena*, drew his dagger, and made a thrust at him, but it was parried by one of the grenadiers. The hero *Buonaparte*, that invincible General, who never knew fear, felt its impulse for the first time, fainted in the arms of his grenadiers, and had it not been for Generals *Murat* and *Lefebvre*, Europe would now be at peace; *Lefebvre* entered with the soldiers, and extricated him from his perilous situation, and ordered twenty grenadiers to escort *Lucien Buonaparte*, who was likewise in great danger. When *Buonaparte* was safe, his courage returned, and with it all his ambitious designs—he ordered

dered one of his officers to take a detachment of soldiers, and *clear the hall!* Some of the members remonstrated, and one of them exclaimed, that they ought to be the guardians of the national representation, and not tarnish the laurels which they had acquired by destroying its independence; the troops hesitated, but the officer repeated his orders, and the members were compelled to quit the hall.

Buonaparte made a long speech in the hall where the Council of Elders held their sitting; this *admirable* effusion, so much praised by his historian, concluded with the following words:—"I declare to you, that as soon as the danger shall be over, *I will resign the command which has been confided to me!* I will only be the supporting arm of the magistracy, which you may think proper to nominate!" All *Europe* knows how faithfully he kept his word—by getting himself elected First Consul for ten years, then for life, with full power to nominate his successor!!

Not content with this step of aggrandizement, he has at length succeeded, by his artful insinuations, to create himself Emperor of the Gauls, and contrary to every principle of pure republicanism, has by *his laws* established the crown hereditary in his family. Deluded Frenchmen! you who have committed such horrid crimes in the phantomic name of republican freedom, what must be your feelings now? And what the sense of that contemptible adulator, who in speaking of the usurper's speech to the Council of Elders, praises it for its unbounded frankness and loyalty, and says, as matter of course, as if treason even to suppose to the contrary. "*It was presumed with reason, that*
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the vanquisher of Italy, and the conqueror of Europe, would never abase himself so far as to descend to the throne of kings." On the following passage he has been extremely profuse, and which does him equal credit with the wisdom he has displayed in general amidst his panegyric observations, *Buonaparte*, having been told by the deputies that he was suspected of being desirous to imitate the famous usurpers *Cæsar* and *Cromwell*, affected to disdain the allegation, as also to condemn the usurpations; and, in answer, he said, "*It would be an horrid and sacrilegious action to attempt to destroy a representative government in the age of knowledge and liberty. No one but a madman would attempt to ruin the success of the republic over all the royalty of Europe, after having supported it with so much glory, and so many dangers.*"

Buonaparte told the Council of Elders, that, *Barras* and *Moulin* had advised him to overturn the government, and place himself at the head of affairs, but, that *he refused that proposal with disgust, because liberty was dearer to him than life, and he wished to serve the French people only!!!* Consummate hypocrite! how could an enlightened nation be duped by such sycophantic protestations! After testifying the most disinterested sentiments, he turned to some of *his soldiers* who were in the hall, and exclaimed, "*Comrades turn your bayonets against me, if ever I deviate from the path of liberty!!*" Most horribly has he deviated from the path of liberty, the suffering wretches who have dared to groan under his tyranny, have been barbarously shot by the orders of that man, who had desired his soldiers to "turn their bayonets against him," if he became a despot!

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The Council of Elders having decreed, that, *France* should be governed by *Consuls*, the *modest Buonaparte* got himself appointed the *first*—the other two were *Roger Ducos*, and *Sieyes*. These two were mere *automata*, and followed implicitly the directions of *their master*.

Among the sentences, which “in the joy of his heart,” the French historian maintains that *Buonaparte* uttered on the Consular revolution, the following ought to be remembered; “The present revolution will ‘be different from the former; *there will be no more proscriptions!*’ Shades of the murdered *Frotte*, *Camille de Clapier*, *Touissaint L’Ouverture*, *Duc D’Enghien*, *Pichegru*, &c. why then do ye hover around the chair of the Corsican?

On the fifteenth of December, the two nominal Consuls were moved, and *Cambaceres* and *Lebrun* were appointed in their stead. Every one knows that *Cambaceres* was one of those who voted for the King’s death; when he was sent to the unhappy monarch to announce him his fate, his looks betrayed such savage and diabolical joy, that, *Louis* told him, “You need not speak, I know that you are the bearer of my death-warrant!” It is universally allowed, that, *Cambaceres* is inferior only to *Buonaparte* in ferocity and unbounded ambition.

CHAP. XVII.

Buonaparte affects a disposition towards peace, and writes to the King of England in consequence thereof, but ineffectually—Murder of Frotte and Camille de Clapier—Specimen of the respectability of Consul Buonaparte's appointments.

AS soon as Buonaparte had taken the reins of government, he affected to be very desirous of concluding a peace with *Great Britain*, and accordingly he wrote a letter to our revered Sovereign, intimating a wish of terminating the hostilities which had desolated *Europe* for so many years. The letter was couched in such vague terms, that, the *English* cabinet very properly returned a spirited denial, at the same time expressing its readiness to meet any overtures for peace, which might be made by a regular and well established government in *France*. It will, perhaps, appear surprising, that, Lord Grenville's letter to Buonaparte should have been termed "a Machiavelian answer," in a *French* publication, translated and printed in London. In that same work, it is impudently said, that, the money which *England* paid to *Austria*, was the "fruit of her piracies and rapine!!!"

Some of the unhappy Royalists in *La Vendée*, still endeavoured to defend themselves against their cruel persecutors. The First Consul sent General Bernadotte with a powerful army to "restore tranquillity" in that devoted country. Whether General Bernadotte was not sufficiently sanguinary to please Buonaparte, or whether the

the friends of General *Brune* used very powerful interest, we cannot tell ; but, it is certain, that, *Bernadotte* was recalled, General *Brune* appointed in his place, with General *Hédouville* as second in command. While General *Brune* commanded, the brave *Frotte* fell beneath Consular vengeance and treachery. A respectable emigrant, who left *France* about the latter end of the year 1800, gives the following account of that melancholy transaction.

“ The murder of *Frotte*, committed by order of the Consul, is another proof of the fidelity with which he adheres to the conditions of treaties. *Louis de Frotte* was a gentleman of *Normandy*, about twenty-nine years of age ; he was one of the Royalist *Chouan* Generals, and began to distinguish himself towards the end of the year 1794 ; in consequence of his bravery, he commanded in Lower *Normandy* in 1795. He was the last to ratify the treaty of pacification which was concluded with *Hoche*, and the first who took up arms in 1799 ; he then liberated his mother and several others who were detained in prison. On the execution of the Law of Hostages, he found himself at the head of a considerable force, and his command extended over the greater part of *Normandy*. When *Brune* marched against the *Chouans*, *Frotte* for a long time rejected the offers of the Consuls ; but finding, that, all the other Chiefs submitted, he determined to write to General *Hédouville*, at the beginning of February, 1800, to declare, that he subscribed to the laws accepted by the other *Chouans* ; but a letter, in which he mentioned to one of his friends, that he would submit to any thing rather than give up his arms ; and another, in

which one of his officers had mentioned the castle he was concealed in, falling into the hands of the Republicans, he was arrested and shot. He had, nevertheless, agreed to all their conditions. That *Frotte* should write in this manner to his officers, for their security, was natural; and, that, he should in consequence be arrested to undergo an examination, was certainly reasonable; but thus cruelly to murder him, was indeed horrible! But a tyrant strikes at random! "*Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet.*"

Considering, that, *Buonaparte* had said, there were to be no "more proscriptions," some of our readers may feel greatly astonished in perusing the above statement; but, the perfidious assassination of a most amiable nobleman in *Provence*, reflects still greater dishonour on the tyrant who pretended to conciliate all parties by his clemency. We derive the account of that infamous murder from the same respectable source; "Scarcely was he seated in the curule chair, when his military mandates, following the steps of his tribe of informers, were sent to the eighth, ninth, and tenth military divisions, or more properly speaking, to the provinces of *Languedoc* and *Provence*: their instructions were, to shoot every royalist who should be found in arms, ALSO EVERY PERSON LIABLE TO SUSPICION, WITHOUT SPARING EITHER AGE OR SEX!!! There were no longer any meetings in those provinces, a great number of common highwaymen indeed infested them; but being republicans, they were acquitted; some decided acts of cruelty, were however necessary to signalize the first days of *Buonaparte's* consulate. These commissioners not
meeting

meeting with victims, had recourse to the *Robespier-*
rite informers, and sacrificed a number of both sexes
to their ungovernable fury. At *Aix*, the judges de-
puted on this commission, rising from one of their
bacchanalian banquets, inflamed with wine and their
own ferocity, and not having any victim at hand to
satiare their fury, called for the gaoler's account of the
different prisoners, and seeing the name of *Camille de*
Clapier, a country gentleman, second in command to
the royalist party; who had already been five times
tried for his life, and each time preserved by the sums
of money which his relations judiciously distributed;
and on his last examination, finally sentenced to two
years imprisonment; it was reserved for those butchers
of *Buonaparte* to drag the worthy *Camille de Clapier*
from his prison, and against the laws of every penal
code in the world, *have him instantly shot!* Write this,
vile flatterers of *Buonaparte*, write it in letters of
gold, and present it to mankind as a proof of the
justice of your idol! While these scenes were acting
in the South, the West was deluged with the blood of
the *Chouans*, under the plea of pacification. The
law of special tribunals, exactly resembling the revo-
lutionary tribunals of *Robespierre*, was in the press, and
the confiscation of the remainder of the property of
the emigrants took place under the excuse of the am-
nesty!"

Several of the most furious and sanguinary jaco-
bins were nominated to places of the highest trust,
immediately after *Buonaparte* had been chosen First
Consul; among them was *Pierre-Pierre*, a lawyer
at *Marseilles*; he was a man of the most detestable
character

character ; but, having evinced his attachment to *Buonaparte*, and protected his mother from the vengeance of the royalists, he was appointed commissary general at *Bordeaux*. His wife is Daughter to a tavern-keeper, but such is her husband's present power, that, she presented the *Queen of Etruria* to all the first parties and entertainments given at *Bordeaux*.

Lecointre Puiraveaux, whom *Buonaparte* appointed, nearly at the same time, commissary general at *Marseilles*, is well known as one of the most ferocious jacobins of the age. He was a shop-keeper at *Verfailles*, and being elected a member of the convention, he voted for the king's death ; as a reward for his crimes, he was appointed commissary of the police at *Marseilles*, where he disgraced himself by the most infamous traffick that can be recorded ; he publicly sold to the highest bidder, licences for gaming, and cleared by them above fifty thousand *livres* a year. The most abandoned and profligate characters were suffered to remain perfectly unmolested, provided they paid him *fifteen per cent.* on the money which they procured by burglaries, highway robberies, and other crimes !

Our readers will be enabled to form some idea of the state of *France* under *Buonaparte's* free and happy sway, when they recollect, that, besides the respectable characters which we have first described, *Fouche* and *Talleyrand* are *Buonaparte's* confidants ! The last two citizens are so well known, that, we will not trouble our readers with any particulars concerning them.

CHAP. XVIII.

Formation of the Army of Reserve, who march to St. Bernard and take several small places—Genoa surrenders to the Austrians—Army of Reserve successful in several skirmishes, and is reinforced by twenty thousand men—Buonaparte's conduct in Milan and other places, &c.

BUONAPARTE, pursuing his favourite scheme of universal power, resolved to march in person against the *Austrian* armies, and the devoted states of *Italy* were again doomed to undergo new scenes of rapine and desolation. In the beginning of March, 1800, Buonaparte issued orders for the assembling of an army of fifty thousand men, at *Dijon*, in *Burgundy*, now called the "*department of the Côte d'or*." This army was mostly composed of conscripts, who were torn from their families in the most oppressive manner. Buonaparte who was apprehensive that recruits, compelled to serve, would not exactly answer his expectations, and perhaps evince sentiments of mercy and humanity highly repugnant to his feelings, resolved to incorporate with them, veterans on which he could depend, and he accordingly united the troops just returned from *La Vendée* with the conscripts. He knew that he could trust on soldiers who had fought in *La Vendée*; accustomed to plunder and assassinations, they recoiled at no crime, and were worthy to succeed the men who had deluged *Milan*, *Pavia*, and *Bonasco*, with innocent blood!

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This new army was called the "Army of Reserve," and General *Berthier* was appointed Commander in Chief. About the beginning of May, the different columns which composed it, were ordered to march towards *Geneva*, and there, they received directions to wait for *Buonaparte*. He reviewed the van-guard on the 12th of May, and gave orders for the whole army to march through the country of *Vaud* and lower *Valais*.

When the army had reached the great *St. Bernard*, the necessary preparations were made for that dangerous passage, and, after innumerable dangers and fatigues, the army reached *Aosta*, a town of *Piedmont*. After a slight resistance, it was taken, together with eight or nine hundred prisoners. *Chamillon* and *Fort Bard* were also compelled to surrender, and the army pursued its march towards *Ivrea*. The *Austrian* troops defended themselves with great bravery, but resistance was vain against an army so superior in numbers, and the citadel of *Ivrea* surrendered to the victors.

General *Melas*, who commanded the *Austrian* forces in *Italy*, after defeating General *Massena* in several battles, and forcing him to take refuge in *Genoa*, laid siege to that city; it must be acknowledged, that, *Massena* defended himself with astonishing obstinacy, but notwithstanding all his courage, *Genoa* surrendered to the *Austrian* arms in the beginning of June. General *Melas* was an old and experienced officer, but he unfortunately despised his enemies, for although he received frequent information of the Army of Reserve having penetrated
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into *Lombardy*, he never placed any reliance on the accounts which were transmitted to him from different parts; He thought that *Buonaparte* had sent five or six thousand recruits merely to make a diversion in favour of *Massena* who closely pressed in *Genoa*. So confident was *Melas*, that, even on the 28th of May, he wrote in the following terms to one of his friends who was at *Pavia*, "It is said that some *French* troops have penetrated in *Lombardy*, but you need not quit *Pavia*, I shall soon disperse them."

It is certain that the loss of *Italy* may be attributed to that fatal security. If General *Melas* had sent a strong detachment to attack *Buonaparte* before he had time to concentrate his forces, the First Consul would have sustained a signal defeat, *Italy* would have been saved, and *France* ere now restored to its lawful sovereign.

On the heights of *Romano*, near *Chiusella*, six thousand *Austrians* resisted the efforts of General *Lannes* and his division for many hours; they were at length routed, but the *French* lost a great number of men, and had above three hundred wounded.

Another division of the *French* army obtained a victory at *Susa*, and took possession of that place, as well as of *Brunetto*. The van-guard arrived on the twenty-seventh of May, at *Chivasso*, where it rested for a short time. On the same day General *Murat* captured *Vercelli*, and routed a squadron of *Austrian* cavalry. The *Cisalpine* legion entered *Varelo*, and a column commanded by *Bethancourt* took *Domo d'Ossula*. We cannot help noticing a most singular blunder in the *French* accounts of the progress of
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the "Army of Reserve," in *Piedmont* and *Italy*; they say that *Mount Rosa*, one of the *Alps*, is *thirteen thousand eight hundred FATHOMS* above the level of the sea! Every fathom, as it is well known, contains six feet, therefore the height of *Mount Rosa*, according to that *modest* computator, is no less than EIGHTY TWO THOUSAND AND EIGHT HUNDRED FEET!! above four times the elevation of *Mount Chimborazo*, one of the *Andes*, or *Cordilleras*, which are universally acknowledged to be the highest mountains in the known world!!!

Notwithstanding the numerous divisions which *Buonaparte* had under his command, he ordered *General Moreau* to send him as many troops as he could spare from the "Army of the Rhine." In compliance with his request, *General Moreau* hastened to send *General Moncey*, with above twenty thousand men—that officer passed *Mount St. Gothard*, and advancing towards *Lake Maggiore*, he took possession of *Lugano* and *Bellinzona*. Thus *Buonaparte's* army consisted of above seventy thousand men! With such a superior force, it is not difficult to defeat an army of about forty-five thousand!

Buonaparte was extremely desirous of bringing *General Melas* to a decisive engagement, for he was aware that the Emperor would send reinforcements to *Melas*, and had the two armies been perfectly equal in numbers, *Buonaparte* would have had no cause to pride himself on the campaign of 1800. He ordered *General Murat*, to cross the *Tesino*, and on the first of June, *Milan* surrendered to the French army—When *Buonaparte*, says his eulogist, entered *Milan*, he was welcomed

welcomed by the acclamations of all the inhabitants, &c."—if our readers recollect the manner in which he treated the *Milanese*, they will not suppose that those acclamations were very sincere. Among the celebrated actions which the same historian attributes to *Buonaparte* during his stay at *Milan*, he particularly mentions his forbidding the Generals of his divisions to make any requisition *without informing the chief Commissary of it!!* How great and good, *Buonaparte* was grown since his campaign in 1796; then, he was a rapacious usurper, exacting enormous contributions in every town which he entered, but in 1800, he disdained levying requisitions *without MENTIONING IT to the commissary!* astonishing condescension.

Several persons who were in *Italy* at that period, have given us a very different account of *Buonaparte's* behaviour at *Milan* and other places---They assert that, though he certainly traversed *Italy* with remarkable celerity, he found sufficient time to appropriate part of the indiscriminate plunder to his own use, he knew how to convert it into cash, and he, as well as many of his generals, realized considerable sums.

It may not be amiss here to insert the respectable method which *Buonaparte* has of converting his plunder into cash—the following are the words of a patriotic writer :

—“As all the expeditions of *France* have been undertaken with a view to plunder, their armies have been constantly followed by large bodies of people, prepared to treat for such *stolen goods* as were of too unwieldy a nature to be put up with the baggage !

"*Buonaparte* never moved without a legion of these convenient *receivers* in his train, who were always ready to purchase, at a low rate, whatever he and his harpies could seize in the houses of individuals, from the cottager to the prince. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say, that, this *Chief of Brokers* has sold for his own share, more furniture, plate, wine, pictures, busts, &c. than half the auctioneers in *Europe*."

"Notwithstanding the swarms of "robbers," which by *Aurierey's* account, followed him into *Egypt*, we do not find that the number in *Italy* was at all lessened. We have before us the journal of what took place on the seizure of *Rome*; it is written by a man of integrity and observation, who was himself a witness of what he relates. From this, we borrow the following passage :

"As soon as the *Pope* was removed, the *Vatican* and *Quirinal* palaces were opened, and an inventory made of every article. The company of *brokers* that followed the army, were then permitted to purchase, upon their own terms, whatever they chose, and afterwards the *Jews* of the *Ghetto* were called in to take the rest !!

"*These brokers*," (adds the writer, Mr. *Richard Duppa*,) "were a number of monied men from *France*, particularly from *Lyons* and *Marseilles*, who joined together a considerable capital towards supporting the army of *Italy*, when *Buonaparte* first crossed the *Alps*, with one express condition of their having the refusal of any spoils that might be made

" &c

"at a certain rate per cent. for their own profit, upon
"a fair valuation to be made by themselves!"

The following observations of the faithful historian of *Buonaparte's* campaigns in *Italy* is worthy of note.

"The conduct of the *Austrians*," says he, "had
'made them very odious to the people. All the persons
who had formerly belonged to the municipalities;
administrative departments, tribunals, or legislative
body, had been thrown by their order into dungeons;
and treated as consummate villains! The arrival of
Buonaparte restored them to liberty, &c.!!"

This charge against the *Austrian* commanders, is
well known to be a most infamous calumny. When
Italy was wrested from the *French* by the *Austro-*
Russian army in 1799, the persons who were at the
head of the legislative body of *Milan* were removed,
but they were treated with the utmost lenity. Had
they been confined, and even punished, they would
have had only their deserts, for they were some of
Buonaparte's minions, and had been bribed to betray
and oppress their country. But observe, that, the
historian who dares to calumniate the *Austrian* Com-
manders, is the same, who, in the first part of his
work, admits, that, *Buonaparte* "CAUSED THE MU-
"NICIPALITY OF MILAN TO BE SHOT, and took
"with him two hundred individuals as hostages!"
Yet, this humane historian praises *Buonaparte's* con-
duct in his savage transaction: "These energetick
"proceedings, so rapidly performed, totally discon-
"certed the intentions of his enemies, &c.!!" This
is the man who accuses the *Austrians* of having com-
mitted the "most horrid excesses!!"

Our

Our readers will, no doubt, recollect the letter which *Buonaparte* wrote to *Cardinal Mathei*, in 1796, when, against the sacred rights of civilized nations, he invaded the *Papal territories*; it will also be remembered, that, he professed himself the defender of the Catholick religion; and declared, that, "he would not suffer any alteration to be made in the religion of his fathers!" Two years after, *Buonaparte* landed in *Egypt*: there, he not only reviled the Christian faith but he publicly asserted, that, he, his troops, and even the whole of the *French* nation had embraced the *Mahometan* religion. In the letter which he wrote to the *Grand Vizier*, at his departure from *Egypt*, he persisted in the contemptible falsehood.—Six months after that, behold him again ravaging *Italy*; and behold that arch-hypocrite affecting once more to be a christian, and ordering *Te Deum* to be sung at the metropolitan church, "*for the HAPPY deliverance of Italy from HERETICKS and INFIDELS!!*" It was sung, and will it be believed? BUONAPARTE ATTENDED, and pronounced, with *seeming fervour*, the name of his Redeemer, whom he had so frequently abnegated!



CHAP. XIX

General Melas concentrates his forces in Piedmont.—The French army advances and are successful, in several engagements—Battle of Montebello—Battle of Marengo—Observation thereon, &c.

AFTER halting a few days at *Milan*, the army proceeded on its march. General *Duhesme* took possession of *Lodi*, and the *Cisalpine* legion entered *Brescia*. It was then that General *Melas* began to be sensible of the great fault he had committed, and endeavoured to repair it, but alas! it was too late. He, however, left *Turin* on the first of June, and resolved to concentrate his forces in *Piedmont*, intending to form a Junction with prince *Elnitz*, who was just returned from *Nice* with a strong detachment.

In the mean time, the French army continued to advance. General *Moncey* was successful in two engagements, and General *Lannes*, with his division, forced the passage of the *Po*, at *Stradella*, after an obstinate conflict, in which both armies lost a great number of men.

At *Montebello*, the van-guard of the French army was attacked by the *Austrians* with the utmost impetuosity; and though it defended itself with great bravery, it would have been completely routed, if General *Watrin*, with his division, had not arrived at the moment the French were giving way. The *Aus-*

trians

trians, overpowered, fought desperately ; but at length retreated towards *Voghera*, after losing many officers of rank, and some hundreds of men, besides three thousand five hundred who were taken prisoners.

On the same day, General *Desaix* joined the army, and was appointed lieutenant-general, to which exalted rank his abilities eminently entitled him. On the 13th of June, the whole of the *French* forces moved towards *Alessandria*, where General *Melas* had established his head-quarters ; *Buonaparte* immediately resolved to attack him, and compel him to come to a decisive engagement.

Buonaparte arrived at *St. Julian* in the evening, and having examined the ground, made his dispositions accordingly. The memorable battle which enslaved *Italy*, began early the next morning, June 14th, 1800 ; it was fought at *Marengo*, a large village between *Tortona* and *Alessandria*, near the plain of *St. Julian*.

Buonaparte's admirers have deemed the victory at *Marengo* one of his most celebrated exploits ; we shall present our readers with a short account of the battle, extracted from the publication compiled by his panegyrist, and we are decidedly of opinion, that, the perusal will tend to confirm the assertion, that, General *Buonaparte* did not gain the battle of *Marengo* :—that he committed a great many faults on that day, and that the victory was owing to the bravery, skill, and impetuosity of General *Desaix* ; perhaps even *Desaix's* efforts would have been vain, had not General *Melas* weakened his centre, by extending his wings to surround the *French*.

— " At

— "At eight o'Clock," says the French historian, "the *Austrians* had shewn only a reluctance to engage : they examined the weak points, and made some arrangements. Our army now formed in two lines, having its wings supported by strong bodies of cavalry. About half past ten, the enemy deployed successively in three columns, upon which *Buonaparte* mounted his horse, and proceeded to the scene of action, where he found the battle raging at all points : each side fought with equal fury ; the firing of cannon and small arms continually became brisker, and great many of the cavalry and infantry were carried off desperately wounded. The enemy's line, at this time, extended to the distance of six miles. The *Bormida*, though deep and rapid, was nevertheless fordable in many places. The *Austrians* directed a tremendous fire towards the bridge, but their principal point of action was at *St. Stephano*, as they intended to reach *Voghera*, and cut off our retreat, *Buonaparte* now perceived that he had to deal with the whole *Austrian* army. Orders were then given to the troops stationed in the rear, to advance with all speed, but the corps commanded by General *Desaix* was still a great way off. The left wing, under the orders of General *Vicor*, began to give way ; the infantry retreated in disorder, and our cavalry was briskly repulsed. *Buonaparte*, informed that the reserve under General *Desaix* was not yet ready, bore down himself to the division of *Lannes*, to slacken its retreat. The retreat was made in squares, though exposed to the fire

“ fire of eighty pieces of cannon, which preceded the
“ Austrian battalions, and poured into our ranks
“ showers of shot and shells. The enemy made sure
“ of victory. A strong division of cavalry, sur-
“ ported by several squadrons of light artillery, fell
“ upon our right, and menaced to turn the army.
“ The Grenadiers of the consular guard, who had
“ not yet been engaged, advanced to support the
“ right, and received three successive charges with-
“ out the least disorder : they formed a square bat-
“ talion round their standards and wounded com-
“ rades ; and, *after expending all their cartridges,*
“ *they arrived in the rear of the Army. The retreat*
“ *was then sounded in every point ; the centre fell back ;*
“ *the enemy dislodged and turned our wings :* on the
“ right, particularly, they were remarkably success-
“ ful, and on the left they had an opportunity of
“ cutting us off from head-quarters. The garrison
“ of Tortona perceiving our *discomfiture*, made a
“ sortie, so that we were hemmed in on all sides.—
“ Buonaparte, always in the centre, encouraged the
“ remainder of the gallant troops. Our artillery,
“ partly dismounted or taken, had very little ammu-
“ nition.—At four o'clock in the afternoon, within
“ a radius of six miles, *there remained only six thou-*
“ *sand infantry, with their standards, a thousand ca-*
“ *valry, and six pieces of cannon fit for service. A*
“ *third of the army had not been engaged ; from a*
“ want of waggons to remove the wounded, *another*
“ *third* was employed in that service : fatigue had
“ forced a great number of officers to absent them-
“ selves, and the riflemen had lost the direction of
“ their

"their respective corps. At this terrible moment,
 "Buonaparte preserved his accustomed coolness, and
 "saw the *approaching storm*, without shrinking from
 "its fury. At last, fortune and victory, which, during
 "a great part of the day, abandoned our standards,
 "began to appear with the divisions of Monnier and De-
 "faix. Notwithstanding these divisions had performed
 "a forced march of thirty miles, they advanced rapid-
 "ly: the soldiers fixed their eyes on Desaix, and flew to
 "victory. The veterans who defended the defile,
 "knew nothing of the succours that were approaching,
 "and had resolved to perish in those modern Ther-
 "mopylæ, rather than retreat. General Melas com-
 "mitted a great fault at this time; he extended his
 "wings, and planned an *irretrievable misfortune*, &c.
 "As soon as the first battalion of his division had
 "reached the front, General Desaix formed it into
 "close columns, and made every arrangement with
 "the utmost celerity: the terrible *pas de charge* was
 "then heard; every corps was at once in motion
 "and in an instant the defile was cleared, and the ene-
 "my repulsed at every point! Desaix leaped the
 "hedges and ditches, overcoming all opposition: he
 "then fell obliquely to the right on St. Stephen's, and
 "entirely cut off the Austrian left wing. General De-
 "faix, at the moment of his triumph, after having saved
 "the army, and perhaps his country, received a mortal
 "wound from a musket-ball; his troops fought with
 "redoubled ardour, and routed the enemy's infantry,
 "&c."

Thus far we have faithfully transcribed from an historian, who can with great propriety be called

Buonaparte's panegyrist; "and yet, judging even by his own account will any person pretend to say that *Buonaparte* gained the battle of *Marengo*! Is it not evident that all his measures failed, and that he was deceived by the movements of the *Austrian* army? He had known for four days that *Melas'* head-quarters were at *Alessandria*, and yet he advanced with only two thirds of his army, though he was then resolved to hazard a decisive battle. Surely he ought to have issued the necessary orders to Generals *Desaix* and *Monnier*, and not suffer their divisions to be at such a distance from the main body—But a review of some of the principal paragraphs in the statement which we copied, will substantiate the charges; "*Buonaparte* now perceived that he had to deal with the WHOLE *Austrian* army;" if *Buonaparte* were the "unrivalled hero," that his admirers have described him, would he have suffered himself to be so completely deceived by General *Melas'* movements, as not to know before twelve o'clock that the whole *Austrian* army was engaged—but mark the sequel of this great discovery—when *Buonaparte* found out that, he had to oppose all the *Austrian* forces, he condescended to recollect, that, the *corps de reserve* ought to join the army, and immediately sent orders to General *Desaix* to "advance with all speed," but they were "still a great way off;" it follows thence that *Buonaparte* had incautiously ordered his troops to begin the engagement, though the troops of reserve were at such a distance, that, notwithstanding a forced march, they could hardly arrive time enough to save the army. "*Buonaparte*, INFORMED that the reserve under General *Desaix* was a

not ready, bore down himself to the division of Lannes to slacken its retreat ;” Such egregious mistakes did Buonaparte commit, that, he did not even know that Desaix’s division was unable to afford any assistance to the army from its great distance---when he was “informed” of it, he galloped down to slacken the retreat of some of his troops---notwithstanding his presence, the “enemy still advanced,” and “made sure of victory.” As a last resource, the “grenadiers of the Consul guard !” were ordered to advance and support the right---they were unquestionably the best troops in the whole army, yet, their undaunted courage was of no avail---after “expending their cartridges, they arrived in the rear of their army ;” in other terms, *they were forced to retreat.* But nothing so strongly corroborates the assertion, “that BUONAPARTE did NOT win the battle,” as the following remarkable passage---“The retreat was founded in every point---the centre fell back ; the enemy dislodged and turned our wings ; on the right, they were particularly successful, and on the left, they had an opportunity of cutting us off from head-quarters ; and the garrison of Tortona, perceiving our discomfiture, made a sortie, so that we were hemmed on all sides.” Such was the situation of the victorious *French* army under the command of Buonaparte, until Desaix came up---Other unanswerable proofs of Buonaparte’s want of judgment in his dispositions at the battle of Marengo, may be easily deduced from these observations made by the same writer, “a third of the army had not been engaged ; from a want of waggons to remove the
the

the wounded;" *another third* was employed in that service.—"Was it not entirely owing to *Buonaparte* that "*a third*" of the army had not been engaged—if he had concerted his measures with *more science*, ought he not to have placed the divisions of his army in the same manner as *Melas* did; so that all the different columns and divisions might have co-operated with each other?—again, "*another third*" had not been engaged—Why? because *Buonaparte* had neglected to provide a sufficient number of waggons "to remove the wounded"—We are not surprised at this, because we have had so many and such indubitable proofs of his *ferocious misanthropy*, and of the pleasure which he derives when he beholds his soldiers, or as he calls them "*HIS CHILDREN!*" *falling by whole ranks*.

Certainly every one who reads the French account of the battle of *Marengo*, will scarcely believe, that, in the end, that battle which appeared so completely lost by the French, should have been retrieved by *Desaix's* astonishing exertion and bravery. *Buonaparte* himself believed it to be irretrievably lost, for, says his flatterer, "*he saw the approaching storm without shrinking from its fury!*"

"At last fortune and victory, which during a great part of the day had abandoned our standards, began to appear with the divisions of *Monnier* and *Desaix, &c.*" Can there be a stronger proof that *Buonaparte* did not gain the battle? Even his panegyrist is forced to confess that fortune and victory appeared only when *Desaix* and his two divisions advanced.—"Notwithstanding their having performed
a forced

a *forced* march of thirty miles, &c." That was the consequence of *Buonaparte's* ill-judged dispositions—he had stationed his reserve so injudiciously, though he ought to have known, that, he could not gain the battle without it, that the troops which composed it, could not be of use to the main army without a forced march of thirty miles, by which they were harassed so excessively, that, many perished through fatigue. The confidence which the men evinced in *Desaix*, and the coldness with which they received *Buonaparte's* exhortations, clearly proved how displeased they were with the First Consul—When he rode along the ranks after they had formed in columns, they paid no attention to him, but, as the *French* historian himself is forced to confess, they “fixed their eyes on *Desaix*, braved every danger, and flew to victory!”

It has invariably been the custom of every great General, when he perceives his troops giving way before a superior force, to encourage them by telling them that a re-inforcement is approaching; and numerous are the instances, both in ancient and modern history, in which such an information, even when inaccurate, has re-animated the courage and confidence of the soldiers, and made them return to the charge with redoubled vigour—*Buonaparte* on the contrary, though he was *convinced* that General *Desaix* and the reserve were hastening to the assistance of the centre, never informed them of what would necessarily have inspired them with the utmost confidence; for we have the authority of his panegyrist, who says in express terms; “*Our veterans knew nothing*

nothing of the succours that were at hand, and were resolved to perish in these modern Thermopylæ !"

We have likewise his authority to assert, that 'General *Melas*' unfortunate manœuvre was "an irretrievable misfortune." He extended his wings, weakened his centre, and lost a battle, which, at four in the afternoon, was certainly as much in favour of the *Austrians* as it was possible to be.

It is but justice to say that *Buonaparte's* historian cannot be called a sycophant in his account of the battle of *Marengo*—indeed he seems to have lost sight of his hero, for after *Desaix's* arrival, he never mentions *Buonaparte's* name ; "General *Desaix* leaped the ditches and hedges, and carried every thing before him—the intrepid *Desaix* falling obliquely to the right on *St. Stephano*, entirely cut off the *Austrian* left wing, &c." but the passage in which he describes the fall of *Desaix* puts it beyond all controversy, that, *Buonaparte's* title of "*Conqueror of Marengo*," is usurped, that *Desaix* alone had a right to it, and that *Berthier*, *Murat*, and *Victor*, were much more entitled to it than *Buonaparte*, who, we repeat it, merited on that day, no other praise but that of *personal bravery* in which, by the bye, he was equalled by almost every soldier in both armies. "*General Desaix*," says the *French* historian, "*at the moment of his triumph, and AFTER HAVING SAVED THE ARMY, and perhaps his country, received a mortal wound from a musket ball.*"

CHAP. XX.

Armistice concluded between General Melas and Buonaparte—Buonaparte, returns to Milan where he organises the Cisalpine Republic—Arrives in Paris where he has a narrow escape of his life—Treaty of Peace signed at Luneville between the Austrians and French.

AFTER the battle of *Marengo*, in which both sides had sustained a very considerable loss, though unquestionably that of the *Austrians* was much the greater. General *Melas*, sent a trumpet to conclude an armistice, contrary, indeed, to every expectation; for the *Austrians* were still in a condition to oppose the progress of the *French*, and it is even asserted on the authority of an officer of distinguished reputation, that *Buonaparte* intended to retreat the day after, and wait the arrival of other reinforcements, before he again attacked the *Austrians*: be that as it may, the premature conduct of General *Melas*, removed all fears on the part of the enemy, and the armistice was concluded by which the fortresses of *Tortona*, *Alleffandria*, *Milan*, *Turin*, *Pizzighetoni*, *Arona*, *Placenza*, *Comi*, *Ceva*, *Savona*, *Urbino*, and the city of *Genoa*, were to be delivered to the *French* army before the 27th of June; in other terms the whole of *Italy* was surrendered to the *French* Republic! Perhaps futurity may disclose the cause of the "unaccountable precipitation" with which the *Austrian* commander gave up all the strong places in *Italy*.

Buonaparte

Buonaparte having sent General *Kellerman* to inform *Maffena* of the victory, and of the terms of the armistice, set out for *Milan*—He visited *Pavia*, and entered *Milan* on the 17th of June. He once more ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung, and again profaned the temple of the Lord by his presence. It is incredible, that, after all the crimes which he had committed, after having renounced the Christian religion, and professed himself a *Mahometan*, he should again dare to effect religion, and attend a *Te Deum*, after he had so frequently expressed his contempt for the “religion of his fathers”—and, what place did he choose for that act of hypocrisy? Alas! the very city which he had deluged with blood four years before, and where his troops had been encouraged to commit the most detestable barbarities!

During his stay at *Milan*, he created a consulta, established a minister-extraordinary of the French republick, and mocked the wretched inhabitants with the name of liberty, by establishing and organising what he called “*the Cisalpine Republic*.” Having assembled the priests of *Milan*, he made them a long speech, in which the following passage is particularly worthy of remark: “The *natural friends* of *Italy* are the *French*. What have you to expect from *Protestants*, *Greeks*, and *Mussulmen*, sent to your assistance? *The French*, on the contrary, are of the same religion as yourselves! We certainly have had some disputes together, but all those things will soon be arranged and forgotten!” We earnestly request our readers to compare this speech with the proclamations which *Buonaparte* issued in *Egypt*, and with some parts of his letter to the

the *Grand Vizier*, they will be enabled to judge his hypocrisy, perfidy, and blasphemous mockery, better than we can describe them; but, what shall we think of his insulting irony, when he tells the *Milanese*, "We certainly have had disputes together, but all those things will soon be arranged and forgotten!" How does the tyrant expect every thing can be arranged and forgotten! *Can* the friends and relatives of the members of the municipality whom he barbarously ordered to be shot, *forget* that *he* was their murderer? *Can* the unfortunate females who beheld the bleeding corpses of their husbands, ever forgive *him*. *Can* the children whom his savage ferocity deprived of their parents, ever raise their hands to Heaven, but to imprecate vengeance on his detested head? Shall the blood of the wretches murdered by him at *Benafco*, not cry aloud for revenge! . . . And if it were possible that the inhabitants of *Italy* should *forget* his numberless crimes, will the recording angel forget them on the dread day of judgment? Covered with the blood of the innocent; pursued by the curses of the widows and fatherless; haunted by the shades of the victims of his cruelty; his last moments must be terrible, and will serve as an awful lesson to all tyrants!

Buonaparte passed through *Turin* and *Chambery*, and arrived at *Lyons* on the 28th of June: with his usual policy, he affected the greatest distress, at beholding the ruins of *Belle-Cour*, which, with half of the city of *Lyons*, had been destroyed under the sanguinary reign of *Robespierre*. *Buonaparte* laid the

first

first stone of *Belle-Cour*, and promised the *Lyonese* his special protection.

On the second of July he arrived at *Paris*, and at eleven o'clock, the consuls and the other officers of state waited upon him with all the pageantry of ceremony. Two days after, *Buonaparte* ordered General *Davigneau* to be cashiered for his conduct at *Murengo*; he also forbade *Foissac-Latour* to wear the uniform of a *French* officer. However just *Davigneau's* punishment might be, *Foissac-Latour's* was certainly unjustifiable and tyrannical; for he had defended *Mantua* as long as the strength and state of the garrison had permitted him.

In consequence of General *Moreau's* successes in *Suabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Austria*, the *Emperor* was compelled to deliver up *Ulm*, *Ingoldstadt*, and *Philipsburgh* to the *French* army, and *Count Cobentzel* was sent to *Luneville* to continue the negotiations with the *French* plenipotentiaries.

Buonaparte's arbitrary proceedings, rendered him obnoxious to every friend of liberty, and several conspiracies were formed against him. *Arena Demerville*, and *Ceracchia*, were said to be implicated in a plot against his life; but the truth is, that the *First Consul* detested those men, particularly *Arena*, because they had opposed his measures on the ninth and tenth of November, 1799, and he eagerly embraced an opportunity of punishing them; those unfortunate men, probably innocent, were cruelly put to death, and thus satisfied for a short time *Buonaparte's* thirst of blood.

A few

A few days after, a carriage containing gun-powder, nails, cartridges, &c. was placed in *la rue St. Nicaise*, and as *Buonaparte* was going to the opera, it was set on fire by some desperate wretches: the explosion took place after *Buonaparte* had passed by, and the bursting of the machine killed and wounded a number of innocent passengers. *Buonaparte* escaped unhurt; but, one of his horse-guards was wounded.

After the battle *Hohenlinden*, gained by *Moreau*, on the 3d of December, the successes which attended the *French* armies, under *Moreau*, *Macdonald*, and *Brune*, were so uninterrupted, that, the *Emperor* was at last compelled to make peace almost on any terms, for the advanced guard of the *French* army, was within fifty miles of *Vienno*. After many negotiations, the treaty of peace was signed at *Luneville*, on the 9th of February, 1801, by *Count Cobentzel* and *Joseph Buonaparte*. By this treaty, the *Emperor* renounced for himself and successors, all the *Belgick* provinces; also the *Comte of Falkenstein*, the *Frickhall*, and all that belonged to *Austria*, on the left bank of the *Rhine*, between *Zarzach* and *Bafil*; in consideration of which he received *Istria*, *Dalmatia*, the *Venetian isles* in the *Adriatic*, and the city of *Venice*. The *grand-duke* of *Tuscany* was compelled to renounce his right to the *grand duchy* of *Tuscany*; and he was to obtain in *Germany*, a complete indemnity for his *Italian States*. In many articles this treaty was exactly similar to that of *Campo Formio*.

CHAP. XXI.

Through the intrigues of Buonaparte, the Northern Coalition is set on foot; which tends to add new quarrels to the British Navy.—The battle of Copenhagen introduced.

BUONAPARTE having made peace with *Austria*, was now at liberty to direct all spite towards *England*; his evident intentions were, to excite a confederacy against this country, among all the maritime powers; to exclude her from all the ports of *Europe*; to subdue *Portugal*; to exhaust our finances, and weary the patience of the *English*, by holding out continual threats of invasion. He accordingly gave directions to his envoys at *Stockholm*, *Petersburgh*, *Berlin*, and *Copenhagen*, to represent to those powers, the haughtiness of *Great Britain*, and to take every opportunity of insinuating, how encouraging the state of *Europe* was for a revival of the armed neutrality of 1780, which was founded on the principle, "that free and neutral bottoms" make free and "neutral goods," and how great the advantages would be, if *England* could be compelled to make peace on reasonable terms.

His Machiavelian schemes succeeded with the *insane Russian Emperor*: he was highly incensed against the *Austrians* and the *English*; the failure of the expedition in *Holland*, and the liberty which some of our artists had taken to caricature his person, were some of the weighty motives that irritated *Paul* the First against this country. *Paul*, suddenly forgetting

getting his once inveterate hatred to the *French Republic*, sent the baron of *Sprengporten* as envoy to *Paris* and shortly after, the *Count Katitcheff* as ambassador. They were received by *Buonaparte* with a degree of luxury and adulation, seldom witnessed in the reception of ambassadors, and the *First Consul* immediately issued a decree, by which "all vessels of the Republic, and all cruisers bearing the *French* flag, were forbidden to interrupt the ships of war, or the commerce of the *Emperor* of the *Russias* or of his subjects: and all *French* vessels were ordered to afford succour and aid to the *Russian* ships." To cajole still more the *Russian Autocrat*, *Buonaparte* paid implicit deference to his intercession in favour of *Naples*, and solemnly promised to deliver up *Malta* to him, *as soon as it could be wrested by arms, or negotiation, from the English*.

Paul, delighted with *Buonaparte*, immediately endeavoured to prevail upon *Sweden* and *Denmark* to join the "Northern confederacy," With the king of *Sweden*, he found little opposition. The powerful influence of *Russian* and *French* policy in that court, was such, that he fell an easy prey, overaw'd by the power of the *Russian* despot, and dup'd by the wily intrigues of the *French* cabinet, that devoted kingdom was unable to stem the mighty torrent. A few however of the patriots of that kingdom opposed the measure, foretold its destructive consequences, but their warning voice was not heard. The mists of delusion are at length dispelled, and that country seems to be fully convinced of the perfidy and injustice of *French* policy, by the spirited manner in which that

state

state has repented that shameful violation of the laws of civilized nations, viz. the invasion of the territory of the Elector of *Baden*, and the subsequent atrocity of the murder of the Duc *D' Enghein*; but the King of *Denmark* seemed desirous of persisting in his neutrality, on which *Paul* threatened that country with his displeasure, and *Denmark* was necessarily obliged to accede to the confederacy. *Prussia* likewise joined it, and *Buonaparte* thought himself sure of humbling the *English*, by directing the united navy of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Russia*, against our ships; but the terrible battle of *Copenhagen*, which was fought on the 2d of *April*, 1801, blighted all his hopes.

This decisive victory, though not strictly in the course of this history, is of that national importance to *Great Britain* that we hope to stand excused in detailing some few of the particulars of that glorious day, as it remains a lasting monument of *British* courage, and proves to remotest posterity the mischiefs attendant upon those unhappy states whose weakness subjects them to the controul of the insatiable and inordinate ambition of *France*.

This expedition was certainly judiciously planned, and as ably executed; the principal command was given to Admiral Sir *Hyde Parker*, accompanied by the gallant veteran *Nelson*, who, with the whole of their fleet, appeared off the Sound on the 28th of *March*, 1801, when orders were given to prepare for battle, and Lord *Nelson* was appointed to lead the attack.—The wind being as the most sanguine expectations could desire, the Admiral, to the inexpressible joy of the whole fleet, made, on the morning of the 30th, the signal to weigh
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and form the order of battle. Lord *Nelson* was ordered to lead the van, while Sir *Hyde Parker* acted with his division in the rear, as a corps de reserve; and such was the promptitude in executing the orders to form the line and engage, that at half past six, the *Monarch*, appointed to lead the fleet, was so far advanced, that the enemy commenced a heavy and well supported fire from the whole line of his positions, which was instantaneously returned from the leading ships, and from some of those of the centre and rear divisions. No one circumstance during the operations of this day, contributed so efficaciously to the success of the *British* as the silence of the *Swedish* batteries. Whether the conduct of the court of *Stockholm* on this occasion originated in any secret misunderstanding between itself and that of *Copenhagen*, or whether it trembled for its town of *Helsingburg*, it is not for us to determine; but in point of fact not a single shot was fired from the *Swedish* shore, and at half past ten every ship had passed the Sound, without sustaining the slightest injury, except the loss of six or seven men killed and wounded on board the *Isis*, by the bursting of one of her lower-deck guns.

Lord *Nelson* having offered his service for conducting the attack, after having examined and buoyed the outer channel of the middle ground, proceeded with twelve ships of the line, all the frigates, bombs, fire-ships, and all the small vessels, and on the same evening of the 1st of *April*, anchored off *Draco* point, to make his disposition for the attack, and wait for the wind to the southward. It was agreed on, between the Admiral and Vice-Admiral, that the ships remaining with the Ad-
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miral should weigh at the same moment his Lordship did, and menace the Crown batteries, and some Danish ships of the line, that lay at the entrance of the arsenal as also to cover our disabled ships as they should come out of the action.

On the morning of *April 2d*, Lord *Nelson* made the signal for the squadron to weigh and to engage the *Danish* line, consisting of six sail of the line, eleven floating batteries, from twenty-six to twenty-four pounders to eighteen eighteen-pounders, and one bomb-ship, besides schooner gun-vessels. These were supported by the Crown islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries, on the island of *Amuck*. The bomb-ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape, The other seventeen sail, being the wole of the *Danish* line to the southward of the Crown islands, after a battle of four hours, were sunk, burnt, or taken.

The loss of men on board the *British* ships was considerably more than usually great; but the dreadful carnage on board the *Danish* ships was excessive. It was calculated by the commander in chief, Oliver Fither, at 3600. The vessels were crowded with men, and from some singular neglect, probably originating in the idea of the wounded being so near the city, that they should be immediately accommodated there, there was not on board their block ships a single surgeon. When our people boarded them, they found hundreds bleeding to death. As soon as the fire of the *Danish* line slackened and Lord *Nelson* perceived that the ships and batteries of the enemy were in his power, he went to his cabin, and wrote a letter to the prince royal, representing the expediency

expediency of allowing a flag of truce to pass, and stating, that if this was denied, he should be under the necessity of destroying the floating batteries now in his power; while it would be impossible to save those brave men by whom they were defended. This note was addressed "To the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes." When, in consequence of this representation, he received permission to land, and went on shore to adjust terms of reconciliation, he was received by the brave and generous Danes, with the loudest acclamations, and treated by the accomplished prince of *Denmark* with every mark of respect. The immediate consequence of their conference was an armistice, which soon led to an amicable convention. The dreadful engagement heard, seen, and felt, on the Danish shore, wound up the feelings of all ranks to the highest pitch of sensibility: but the hopes and fears of all individuals seemed to be lost in a general blaze of patriotic ardour. From the crown prince, whose cool intrepidity and judgement was gloriously displayed in the sight of his people and of *Europe*, to the humblest citizen, one heroic mind and purpose seemed to animate and unite the whole. Never had the *Danish* valour, even in the brightest periods of their history, shone out with more distinguished lustre. The daring pirates of the ninth and tenth centuries did not exhibit greater intrepidity and prowess in invading, than their descendant of the nineteenth century did in resisting an invasion from *England*. If the recollection of a common origin, a similarity of manners, and long habits of commercial and social intercourse tends to impress on

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the two nations a conviction that they are fitted and destined to be good friends to each other, the ever-memorable battle of *Copenhagen*, not more glorious to the one party than the other, ought to be a long memento, that they are not less fitted to be mutually dreadful and destructive enemies. *Lord Nelson* told the crown prince's aid-de-camp Colonel *Lindholm*, who waited on him respecting the proffered flag of truce, that "the *French* fought bravely, but that they could not have stood an hour, the fight which the *Danes* maintained for four. I have been in a 105 engagements, (said he) in the course of my life, but that of to-day was the most terrible of all." Admiral *Sir Hyde Parker*, in his dispatches to the Admiralty said, "Were it possible for me to add any thing to the well-earned renown of *Lord Nelson*, it would be by asserting that his exertions, great as they have hitherto been, never were carried to a higher pitch of zeal for his country's service."

CHAP. XXI.

The army of Egypt surrenders to the British forces—Preliminaries of Peace between France and England, signed October 2d, 1801.—Peace with the Ottoman Porte—Buonaparte's barbarous treatment of Toussaint Louverture—His death at the same time, &c.

AT the same time that the bravery of the *British* navy was dissolving, the ambition, policy and views of *Buonaparte* in the North; the conduct of the *English* army, was no less eminently conspicuous in
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wresting *Egypt* from the army, whom he had left under General *Menou*. The astonishing courage displayed by our men, on the 8th of March, when they landed under the fire of fifteen pieces of cannon and the musquetry of two thousand five hundred men, will long be remembered, and at the recital, the heart of every true born Briton must exult with native pride, since it clearly proves, that *even on land* the sons of *Albion* are unconquerable! As the usurper *Buonaparte* has impudently dared to assert that "*England* is unable to cope with *France* single handed," we shall add by way of appendix to this work, the achievements of our country men, on the distant shore of *Egypt*, which must serve as a refutation to his arrogant presumption, while the liveliest sensations must arise in the breasts of our readers. After having premised thus far, we shall only briefly state, that on the 12th, a severe action was fought, four miles from the walls of ancient *Alexandria*, and notwithstanding the valour of their opponents, the *English* soldiers gained the day. On the 21st, the decisive battle of *Alexandria* took place. Important as that victory was, it was dearly purchased by the death of the gallant, brave, and humane Sir *Ralph Abercrombie*, who expired on board the *Foudroyant* a few days after the action. On the 27th of June, *Cairo* capitulated to the *British* arms; and on the 27th of August, *Alexandria* followed its example. Thus, after sacrificing nearly twenty thousand of his best troops, and causing the death of forty thousand natives, *Buonaparte* lost *Egypt*; and with it, the long-indulged hope of destroying the *English* possessions in the *East Indies*.

Indies. Baffled in all the schemes he had formed for (what he vainly deemed,) the destruction of *Britain*, he began to reflect that after the surrender of the "Army of the *East*," and the complete capture of *Egypt*; he was no longer able to continue the war against us with any chance of success; the finances of *France* had been so drained and exhausted by a war of twelve years, that, she required some rest, and *Buonaparte*, according to his usual policy, resolved to conclude a peace, merely to recruit the weakened forces of the *French* government; he was fully determined at the same time to violate every article of the treaty as soon as he found a convenient opportunity! The negotiations were carried on with great secrecy, and with a degree of good faith and sincerity highly honourable to the *British* cabinet, and forming a striking contrast with the duplicity and perfidy which actuated *Buonaparte's* measures.

Very unexpectedly, on the 2d of October, 1801, the signing of the preliminaries of peace between *England* and *France* was announced in *London* by an extraordinary Gazette—they were ratified on the 10th, and the utmost joy prevailed among the inhabitants of both countries, as it was generally expected, that, after such a long and destructive war, peace would bless their shores for a series of years. A few of the most enlightened politicians were of a very different opinion—they knew *Buonaparte* too well to suppose, that, he could live in peace and amity with *Great Britain*; and with heart-felt sorrow they anticipated a speedy renewal of hostilities.

As soon as intelligence was received at *Paris* of the signing of the preliminaries of peace, *Buonaparte* arranged a sort of peace with the *Sulbime Porte*. In his treaty with the Court of *Constantinople* and even in that with the *British Cabinet*, *Buonaparte* displayed a large share of his *Corfican* perfidy ; whatever temporary advantages may be derived from low cunning and wilful misrepresentations, they always affix the stamp of infamy on the man who has recourse to them. From the arrival of General *Reynier*, and the news of the capitulation of *Cairo*, *Buonaparte* could not be ignorant, that, *Egypt* was, at the time of the signing of the preliminaries of peace, in the possession of the English, yet he had letters inserted in the *French* papers, by which he made it appear that *Alexandria* had provisions for several years, and that consequently, it was impossible for the *English* to take possession of it. *Buonaparte* availed himself of that falsehood, and declared in the negotiation, that, evacuating *Egypt*, when he was sure of retaining it, if he chose, was not only a proof of his moderation, and of his great desire to make peace, but also a compensation for the restitution of the *French* colonies made by the *English*. The very next day after the signing of the preliminaries, official accounts were received of the fall of *Alexandria*, and there is not the smallest doubt but *Buonaparte* had been acquainted with it many days before.

When the news were made public at *Paris*, *Buonaparte* resolved to make peace with the *Ottoman Porte*, and in order to obtain terms to which he, otherwise, could have no claim, he sent strict orders

ders to the Journalists to conceal the surrender of *Alexandria*, and even not to say a word relatively to the state of *Egypt*, until they were permitted to do it ! An ex-ambassador from the *Porte*, whose name was *Ali Esseyd Effendi*, had been detained at *Paris* as an hostage, since the year 1792 ; *Buonaparte* judged him proper for the purpose of negotiation, and, though he had no diplomatic powers from his Court, he was prevailed upon to sign a treaty of peace between the Court of *Constantinople* and the *French Republic*. *Buonaparte* made him believe that *France* evacuated *Egypt* merely to oblige the *Sublime Porte*---*Ali Esseyd*, who had been kept in the dark, and knew nothing of the conquest of *Egypt* by the *English* troops, imagined that *Buonaparte* evinced very great consideration for the *Grand Seignior*, by evacuating *Egypt*, and, in consequence, *France* was admitted to all the privileges of the most favoured nation. The *French* had sought to destroy the *Turkish* power, the *English* had saved it from destruction, yet, by *Buonaparte's* perfidious policy, and by the weakness of *Ali Esseyd*, the *French* were allowed as many advantages as the *English* !

Mark here the policy of the disappointed Consul, burning with secret rage, and viewing with malignant eye the superior genius of *Britain*, feeling too the most sanguine mortification at being stripped of his laurels, and, viewing the deplorable state of his own country, he concludes a peace, with a positive intention to break every article entered into the first opportunity that occurs.—By the grossest fabrications the *Grand Seignior* is beguiled into a belief of the
moderation

moderation of the *French Consul*, and in an ill-fated moment grants the same advantages to her greatest foes that are allowed to the best of friends.

From perfidy and falsehood, how easy the transition to tyranny and its every attendant crime, every heart that is not entirely callous, that is not deaf to every call of humanity, will pay a tribute of respect and veneration to the memory of that unfortunate victim of Consular oppression, *Toussaint Louverture*, Commander in Chief of the island of *Hispaniola* or *St. Domingo*. No event has reflected more dishonour on the *First Consul* than his unwarrantable and barbarous behaviour to that extraordinary negro. *Toussaint* is well known for having fought bravely for the freedom of the blacks in *St. Domingo*, and for having saved that island to *France* during the last war. To justify in some degree *Buonaparte's* cruelty, his friends have asserted, that, *Toussaint* and the negroes had been guilty of the greatest cruelties towards the whites; the first part of the charge is completely refuted, even by his most inveterate enemy, *Dubroca*, who, at *Buonaparte's* instigation, has written a life of *Toussaint* replete with the grossest invectives; yet he acknowledges that "*Toussaint* abstained from intrigue and violence, and took no share in the massacre of the whites in August, 1791." As to the cruelties which, they say, were committed by the negroes, we shall just extract the following account from *Bryan Edward's* history of *St. Domingo*, and leave our readers to judge whether *Frenchmen* have a right to complain, when the negroes treat them with severity; Two negroes suffered under my window on the 28th of

of September 1791." Mr. *Bryan Edwards* describes the breaking of those two unhappy wretches on the wheel, and adds, that the *French* would not allow the executioner to put the tortured negroes out of pain, as is usually done, by a blow on the stomach; he however showed that mercy to one of them, but the second, to use Mr. *E's* own words, "*with his limbs doubled up, was put on a cart wheel! . . . at the end of forty minutes, some English seamen who were spectators of the tragedy, strangled him in mercy. All the French spectators, many of them persons of fashion, looked on with the most perfect composure and sang froid!!*"

That *Toussaint Louverture* was a great man, and a conscientious man, has been allowed by every one, even by *Buonaparte* himself, for he allows, "that, *Toussaint* destroyed the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of ferocious men, and restored to honour the religion and worship of God;" but we shall relate an anecdote which must for ever silence the detractors of that unfortunate warrior; "He entered into a treaty with General *Maitland*, the British Commander in Chief, by which *St. Domingo* was to be evacuated by our troops, and remain neutral to the end of the war. *Toussaint* visited General *Maitland* at his head-quarters; some days after, the British Commander wishing to settle several points with him previously to the embarkation of the troops, resolved to go to *Toussaint's* camp in the country. His character was so well known, that, General *Maitland* took with him only two or three attendants, though it was at a considerable distance from the army, and he had to pass through a country full of Negroes who had lately

lately been his inveterate enemies. *Roume*, Commissioner of the *French Republic*, had not such a high opinion of *Toussaint's* honour, for he wrote to him, and begged him to prove his attachment to the *French Republic* by seizing the *British General's* person! As General *Maitland* was proceeding towards *Toussaint's* camp, he received a letter from one of his intimate friends, informing him of *Roume's* plot, and advising him not to put himself in *Toussaint's* power, but General *Maitland* relied on his honour, and resolved to go on, confident that *Toussaint* could not be a traitor.

"Arrived at *Toussaint's* head-quarters, General *Maitland* was desired to wait. After waiting a considerable time he began to be uneasy at *Toussaint's* absence, but he was relieved from his apprehensions, by the entrance of that brave Negro, who, holding two letters in his hand, said to General *Maitland*, "General, read these before we converse; one is a letter which I have received from *Roume*; the other is my answer, I would not come to you, until I had written my answer to him, that you may see how safe you are with me, and how incapable I am of baseness." General *Maitland* read the letters; the first was a perfidious attempt to excite *Toussaint* to detain his guest as a prisoner, "in order to prove his attachment to the Republic!" The other letter was an indignant refusal; "What," said *Toussaint* in his answer, "have I not passed my word to the *British* general? How then can you suppose, that I will cover myself with dishonour by breaking it? His reliance on my good faith leads him to put himself in my power, and I

should be for ever infamous, were I to follow your advice. I am faithfully devoted to the *Republic*, but I will not serve it at the expence of my conscience and honour !”

Some years after, he nobly saved the life of General *Loveaux*, who had been sent to *St. Domingo* as Commissioner of the *French Republic*. *Toussaint's* repeated services, and his great abilities determined the Directory to send him a Commission, declaring him General in Chief of the armies of *St. Domingo*. It was dated in March 1797 ; and when *Buonaparte* usurped the reins of Government, *he expressly confirmed that appointment !*

Toussaint has been accused too, by *Buonaparte* and his admirers of being ambitious, and desirous of keeping *St. Domingo* to himself---if such a charge *had been founded* in truth, with what grace must it be received from one whose life has *hitherto* exhibited that passion in its every varied shape, but the fallacy of such a charge will be evident, by perusing the following letter, written by him to the *First Consul* in February, 1801. “ *Citizen Consul*, Disaffection, alarmed at the determination by which the *Spanish* part of *St. Domingo* was about to be annexed to the dominion of the *Republic*, employed every art and intrigue to raise obstacles to the measure. That which best suited its views was to recall *Citizen Roume*, agent of the government, and engage him to adopt means for postponing the possession of that settlement, which *he himself had decreed*. Resolved to obtain by force of arms, I felt it my duty, before I began my march, to invite *Citizen Roume* to terminate his functions,

functions, and retire to *Dondon* until he should receive new orders ; because intrigue and disafection would there be less capable of leading him astray. He continues there, ready to obey your orders. *Whenever you shall claim him, I will send him to France.*----- Whatever may be the calumnies which my enemies may have prevailed upon him to transmit to you, against me, I shall abstain from any justification of myself ; but while my delicacy compels me to silence, my duty enjoins me to prevent him from acting improperly. The necessity of carrying on a strict correspondence with *my Government*, and the few opportunities which present themselves for the purpose, induce me to request, *Citizen Consul*, that, you will appropriate *L'Enfant Prodigue* corvette to that object only, and that you will dispatch it to *St. Domingo*, once at least every three months, in order, that, I may be enabled to transmit to you regularly, at the periods of its return, the precise state of this fine Colony, for the prosperity of which you may rest assured I shall continue on all occasions to exert myself--Health and profound respect
 ——*Toussaint Louverture.*” Every part of this letter evinces an entire submission to the will of the *French* government, an ardent desire of rendering the most essential services to the colony, and a conviction that it belongs to the *French Republic*, after reading the above may we not justly apply this sarcasm.

Buonaparte says he was ambitious,

“ And sure *he* was an *honourable* man.”

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Under *Touffaint's* administration, *St. Domingo* was in a state of the utmost prosperity, at the time when the preliminaries of peace between *England* and *France* were signed ; but *Buonaparte*, who really seems to have an objection to peace and happiness, availed himself of peace, and sent a powerful fleet to *St. Domingo*, with an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of his brother-in-law, General *Leclerc*. The avowed intention of these troops was as usual, to restore freedom to the Blacks, and ameliorate their condition !! Our readers are by this time acquainted with *Buonaparte's* hypocritical proclamations ; they know, that, he trusts more on his duplicity, than on the bravery of his armies, and that he never invades any country, without assuring the inhabitants, that, *their happiness is the sole reason* WHICH INDUCES HIM TO ATTACK THEM!!

Buonaparte was aware that *Touffaint's* great talents, and the services which he had rendered to the Negroes, and in general to all the inhabitants of *St. Domingo*, had greatly endeared him to his troops ; and consequently, that, it would prove a difficult task to prevail upon them to receive another chief, instead of *Touffaint* : he therefore thought it better to endeavour to corrupt his integrity ; but *Buonaparte* was greatly at a loss how to effect it : he could not offer him riches and honours ; *Touffaint* needed them not. What rank was more elevated than that of governor and commander in chief of *St. Domingo*, which had been confirmed to him by *Buonaparte* himself ? The *First Consul* had recourse to flattery, and apparent generosity. *Touffaint* had two beloved sons, whom he had sent

sent to *France* to be educated, and whom he had recommended in the strongest terms to the protection of the government: *Buonaparte* ordered that they should be put on board the fleet, and taken to *St. Domingo*; he was confident, that, *Toussaint*, anxious to embrace his children, and thankful for that proof of kindness, would not hesitate to trust himself in the power of *Leclerc*, who, let it be well understood, *had orders to detain Toussaint, and send him to France, or put him to death!* Horrid as this may appear, it is strictly true, and indeed it ought not to surprise our readers, when they recollect *Buonaparte's* cruelties, and particularly when they know, that, the celebrated *Pelage*, the negro general at *Guadaloupe*, was treated in the same atrocious manner. *Pelage* assisted the *French* troops, and reduced the island to submission; but though *Buonaparte* had solemnly pledged his honour, that, the *Blacks* should be free, *Pelage* was treacherously seized with his officers: they were hurried on board a *Spanish ship*, and either put to death, or sold as slaves for the *Peruvian mines*!!!

In the letter which *Buonaparte* wrote to *Toussaint*, he professed the greatest esteem for him, and declared, that, the freedom of the *Negroes* should be maintained in every colony! *Toussaint* was also deceived relatively to the force of the armament, and expected only such a body of troops as the *French* government would naturally send in time of peace, in a loyal colony. Supposing them actuated by the same friendly motives as himself, he issued a proclamation, by which he ordered the *Negroes* to receive them with affection and respect! When General *Leclerc* arrived, he did
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not send notice of his arrival to *Toussaint*; he well knew that *Toussaint* would behave in such a noble manner as to preclude the necessity of any hostile measures on the side of the *French*, and *Leclerc*, who was anxious to emulate his brother-in-law, and to obey his orders, wished for blood, and was determined to shed it. He divided his army in three divisions: one of them under General *Rochambeau*, landed at *Fort Dauphin*, and without ordering the poor Negroes to submit, which, assuredly they would have done, the *French* soldiers fell upon them, and destroyed an immense number, General *Leclerc* and his division landed at the *Cape*, and General *Christophe*, the Negro chief, was obliged to abandon the place; he carried with him the *white inhabitants* who were in the town: but, to his honour be it spoken, he sent them all back, without having endangered their lives; how different from the behaviour of the *French* soldiers, who, according to their own accounts, massacred in almost every instance, the unfortunate Negroes who fell into their hands; such a charge can easily be proved, by referring to the dispatches of *Leclerc* and *Villaret Joyeuse*.—In *Joyeuse's* official letter, March 4th, 1802, is the following passage: "Being attacked by the rebels, he killed sixty eight, and made forty-five prisoners; among whom was the chief of this division of *rebels*; HE WAS INSTANTLY SHOT!" General *Leclerc* says in his official letter, dated March 24th, 1802: "General *Hardy* surrounded on the *Coupe a l'Inde*, six hundred Negroes, who received no quarter!" General *Salines* having possessed himself of one of the enemy's camps with baggage, put two hundred

hundred men to the sword! The Negroes threw themselves upon the *Aztibonite*, &c. *The wretches were all put to the sword!!* And in a letter from Admiral *Villaret Joyeuse*, dated April 8th, is the following passage: "The enemy resolved to evacuate *La Crete a Pierrot*, they were overtaken by our troops, who GAVE THEM NO QUARTER!!"

Coisson, preceptor to *Touffaint's* two sons, was sent by *Leclerc* on his perfidious embassy to the Negro Chief; his orders were to let the youths see, and embrace their parents, but not to let them remain; if *Touffaint* agreed to betray the cause of his faithful Negroes, he was to be required to meet General *Leclerc*, receive his commands, and agree to become his Lieutenant-general; on the contrary, if he were found incorruptible, his sons were to be torn from his arms, and brought back again as hostages; however astonishing it may appear, *Coisson* was certain of bringing them back, if *Touffaint* refused to comply with *Leclerc's* directions, for *Touffaint* had pledged his honour, that, the envoy should be suffered to return with his pupils; and though *Coisson* has since been base enough to calumniate the wretched *Touffaint*, he knew perfectly, that, he never violated his honour. The meeting between the fable hero and his children was truly affecting, and *Touffaint*, melted by paternal affection, was on the point of yielding to *Leclerc's* perfidious insinuations, and betraying his brethren—suddenly recollecting himself, he told *Coisson* with manly composure, "*I cannot betray my brethren and my God;---take back my children since it must be.*" *Touffaint* wrote the next day to General *Leclerc*, and

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a correspondence was continued for some time ; but the *French* General finding, that, all *Louverture's* arguments were founded on honesty and justice, was inadequate to the task of answering them, and therefore declined any further correspondence. The war then broke out with all its horrors. *Toussaint's* military talents, and his extraordinary genius, shone conspicuously ; he defended himself with the utmost obstinacy, and at the moment, that *Buonaparte* vaunted, that the whole of *Toussaint's* army was destroyed, and that he would soon be taken prisoner, the unexpected news arrived of *Toussaint's* having defeated the *French* troops, driven them to the coast, and placed General *Leclerc* in the most critical situation. The cause of this sudden reverse, was *Leclerc's* treachery ; when he arrived at *St. Domingo*, he declared, that he was come to give freedom to the *Blacks*, and admit them to all the privileges of *French* citizens. Many of the *Negro* troops listened to his artful and perfidious tale, and deserted *Toussaint's* standard. As soon as *Leclerc* thought himself sure of victory, he treated the *Blacks* as *Buonaparte* had commanded him, and he published an order, by which he "restored to the planters all their former power over the *Negroes* belonging to their estates !" The unhappy wretches thus exposed to all their former miseries, perceived at last the truth of *Toussaint's* advice, and became justly irritated at *Leclerc's* violation of the most sacred engagements ; they rallied under *Toussaint's* orders, and pressed the *French* troops with unrelenting ardour. In that dilemma, *Leclerc* had once more recourse to perfidy ; he issued a proclamation, in which
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he declared it to be his firm determination to comply with the general wishes of the Negroes, and assured them, that, they should be made free and happy. The *Negroes*, tired of war, and easily deluded, again believed him, and about the end of April, 1802, a peace was concluded between *Toussaint* and the *French* commander in Chief. This was called by *Buonaparte*, the "submission of *Toussaint* and his generals;" and he further had the assurance to publish a letter in the *Moniteur*, (*said to be written by General Leclerc*,) in which *Toussaint* was described as having sued for pardon as a rebel, in the most abject terms, and after much hesitation, *Leclerc* consented to forgive him and let him live! That this is one of *Buonaparte's* palpable impostures, can immediately be proved by *Leclerc's* own gazette, published at *Cape Francois*, in which is the following letter to *Toussaint*: "You, General, and your troops, will be employed and treated as the rest of my army. With regard to yourself, you desire repose, and you deserve it. After a man has sustained for several years the burthen of the government of *St. Domingo*, I apprehend that he needs repose. I leave you at liberty to retire to which ever of your habitations you please. I rely so much on your attachment to the colony of *St. Domingo*, as to believe that you will employ the moments of leisure, which you may have in your retreat, in communicating to me your views respecting the means to be taken to make agriculture and commerce again to flourish..." We need not remark that General *Leclerc* would have written in a very different style to a man, who would have begged his life in the abject manner, that, *Buo-*

naparte had described in the *fabricated* letter inserted in the *Moniteur*, and bearing *Leclerc's* name. The Negro chief availed himself of *Leclerc's* permission, and retired at *Gonaïves*, on the South West coast of *St. Domingo*; with his faithful wife, and his two sons, who were sent to *St Domingo* by *Buonaparte*, and put under the care of *Coisnon*, have never been heard of! Probably *Buonaparte* could inform the world of their fate! there he hoped to end his days in tranquillity: but *Buonaparte* is too cruel, too implacable a foe, to permit any man who has once opposed him, to live in peace, if it be in his power to molest him. In consequence of his orders, General *Leclerc*, who was himself a most detestable tyrant, sent a ship of the line and a frigate to *Gonaïves*; a strong detachment of troops landed in the dead of the night, and surrounded the house of the unfortunate *Toussaint*. *Brunet* and one of *Leclerc's* aides-de-camp, entered the room where he slept, and hurried him, his wife, and children, on board the *Creole* frigate; they were then put on board the *Hero*, a 74 gun ship, which immediately sailed for *France*. Nothing surely can exceed such a detestable treachery; but a short time before, a regular peace had been concluded between *Toussaint* and *Leclerc*; he had been permitted by the *French* General to retire where he chose, and the most solemn assurances had been made to him, that he should be suffered to end his days in tranquillity and retirement; instead of that, he was torn from his peaceful abode, sent to *France*, and treated with the most refined cruelty; even on board the ship, he

was seldom suffered to converse with his afflicted family ; but the dreadful moment was approaching, and he was doomed to experience the ferocity of *Buonaparte's* revenge. As soon as he arrived at *Brest*, he was torn FOR EVER from his fond and affectionate wife, and from his darling children ; he was then conveyed in a close carriage, and with as much secrecy as possible, to the castle of *Joux*, near *Mount Jura* ; he was there imprisoned, with only one Negro for his attendant ; at the approach of winter, his faithful servant was taken from him, and *Toussaint*, though in a bad state of health was removed to *Belmont*, and placed in a dreary dungeon ! The treatment which he experienced in that horrid abode, surpasses all description. Whether from the noxious vapours of his gloomy cell ; whether from the extreme anxiety of his mind ; or more probably, from certain means, which are very well known to the " Hero of *Jaffa*," the miserable, but virtuous *Toussaint*, ended his days in April last. It is difficult to say where the modern " Attila" has sent the unhappy wife, children and niece of *Toussaint* : the *French* papers say, that, they arrived at *Bayonne* on the third of September. From this short but authentic, statement of *Buonaparte's* treatment of *Pelagie* and *Toussaint*, our readers will be convinced, that, our assertion is not exaggerated, when we maintain, " that *Buonaparte* not only surpasses considerably, all the *Roman Emperors*, in treachery, irreligion, and wanton barbarity ; but that he has sacrificed more innocent beings, and has been guilty of greater crimes than *Robespierre* himself ! " Had
Toussaint

Toussaint been in the power of *Robespierre*, he would have been guillotined, and probably his wife would have undergone the same fate : instead of that, *Buonaparte* tore him from his wife and children, immured him in a damp and unwholesome dungeon, where for several months, he suffered incredible miseries, and when *Buonaparte* deemed it convenient, poor *Toussaint* was removed from this world ! Surely if he had put *Toussaint* to death at his arrival in *France* he would have acted more humanely ; but *Buonaparte's* sanguinary disposition induced him to choose the slowest and most barbarous punishment ; and *Toussaint*, who ought to have received rewards and honours from *Buonaparte*, experienced all the horrors of a dreadful confinement, and perished miserably !

CHAP. XXII.

Buonaparte violates the treaty of Amiens—Marches a French army into Switzerland—Complains of the Liberty of the British Press—Insults the British Ambassador, who quits Paris—His Britannic Majesty's declaration in consequence—The French under General Morte, invade Hanover.

HAVING now to notice *Buonaparte's* conduct after the "treaty of *Amiens*," it will be perceived, that, when he made peace, he had no other view

iew, but to recruit his armies, and put himself in a condition to violate the most sacred engagements, whenever an opportunity offered which might appear favourable. The court of *St. James* anxious to prove its sincerity, and its determination to adhere scrupulously to every article of the treaty, immediately gave orders that all the conquests which had been made during the war, and which, according to the stipulations of the treaty of peace, were to be ceded to *France* and *Holland*, should be evacuated as soon as possible—very differently did *Buonaparte* act. *Piedmont* was added to *France*, and the *First Consul* was appointed President of the *Italian Republic*. By one of the articles of the treaty of peace, *Holland* had been recognized an independant nation, notwithstanding which, *Buonaparte* ruled that unhappy country more despotically than ever: he compelled the *Dutch* to furnish ships and stores for the *French* expedition, and to clothe and feed *French* armies. *Switzerland* was conquered, devastated, and enslaved, by a powerful *French* army, and the once happy *Swiss* were, obliged to accept a form of government, framed at *Paris*, by the virtuous men who compose the *Consul's* administration.

Not satisfied with such unjustifiable transactions totally opposite to the stipulations of the treaty of peace, *Buonaparte* had the audacity to endeavour to circumscribe the "*liberty of the press* IN GREAT BRITAIN!" He complained in bitter terms of the *disrespect* with which some of our news-papers and periodical publications treated him, and though he allowed one of his favourites (*Colonel Sebastiani*) to publish

publish a report full of invectives against the *English*; he had the effrontery to direct General *Andreossi* to complain to Lord *Hawkesbury* of Sir *Robert Wilson*. History of the British Expedition in *Egypt*—*Buonaparte* did not wish his “assassinations at *Jaffa*” to be made public, and we can easily account for the resentment which he conceived against Sir *Robert Wilson*.—The best way would have been to prove his innocence, but as that was impossible, he flattered himself that his remonstrances could have sufficient weight on Lord *Hawkesbury*, to induce him to suppress that excellent work; in this however, he was mistaken, and the arbitrary measures he took made his crimes more public, and has rendered him the object of general execration.

Perhaps in the whole history of European politics there is not a more flagrant outrage than this, did *Buonaparte* imagine that the *English* nation, proud in asserting its every liberty, would submit to his arbitrary demands, that, that guardian of *our* rights must be shackled to gratify his caprice—No! When *Britain* so far demean themselves as to obey the degrading remonstrances of a *Corsican despot*, covered with crimes, they must be lost indeed to every principle of independence.

Notwithstanding the sincere desire of remaining at peace with *France*, which his Majesty had so unequivocally manifested, the *First Consul's* unjust and imperious conduct determined the *British* Cabinet to demand a categorical answer from the *French* government, relatively to several points which evidently infringed the treaty of *Amiens*. On the discussions which

which took place, *Buonaparte* evinced the same insincerity which has always regulated his negotiations; when he perceived, that, his perfidy was discovered, and that the *British* government was resolved to preserve its dignity, and not to submit to his arbitrary mandates, he became so furious as to behave with the utmost rudeness to Lord *Whitworth*, who was invested with the sacred dignity of Ambassador. Lord *Whitworth* in giving an account to Lord *Hawkebury* of that extraordinary insult, concludes with the following words; "It is to be remarked that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred persons who were present, and I am persuaded that there was not a single person who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on the occasion."

We cannot make our readers more sensible of the numerous and undeserved provocations which we have received from *Buonaparte*, than by quoting several extracts from his Majesty's declaration after our Ambassador had quitted *Paris*.

"His Majesty's earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence, that, he shall receive the same support from his Parliament, and, that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions have been endangered.

"During the whole course of the negotiations which led to the Preliminary and Definitive Treaties
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of Peace between his Majesty and the *French Republic*, it was his Majesty's sincere desire, not only to put an end to the hostilities which subsisted between the two countries, but to adopt such measures, and to concur on such propositions, as might effectually contribute to consolidate the general tranquillity of *Europe*. The same motives by which his Majesty was actuated during the negotiations for peace, have since invariably governed his conduct. As soon as the treaty of *Amiens* was amicably concluded, his Majesty's Courts were open to the people of *France* for every purpose of legal redress: all sequestrations were taken off their property; all prohibitions on their trade which had been imposed during the war were removed, and they were placed, in every respect, on the same footing, with regard to commerce and intercourse, as the inhabitants of any other state at amity with his Majesty, with which there existed no treaty of commerce.

“To a system of conduct thus open, liberal, and friendly, the proceeding of the *French* government affords the most striking contrast. The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his Majesty's subjects during the war, have been enforced with increased strictness and severity; violence has been offered in several instances to their vessels and their property; and in no case, has justice been afforded to those who may have been aggrieved in consequence of such acts, nor has any satisfactory answer been given to the repeated representations made by his Majesty's Ministers or Ambassadors at *Paris*. Under such circumstances, when his Majesty's sub-
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jects were not suffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the *French Republic*, and the countries dependant upon it, the *French* government had recourse to the extraordinary measure of sending over to this country a number of persons for the professed purpose of residing in the most considerable sea-port towns of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, in the character of commercial agents or consuls. These persons could have no pretensions to be acknowledged in that character, as the right of being so acknowledged, as well as all the privileges attached to such a situation, could be derived only from a Commercial Treaty; and as no treaty of that description was in existence between his *Majesty* and the *French Republic*.

“ There was consequently too much reason to suppose, that the real object of their mission was by no means of a commercial nature; and this suspicion was confirmed not only by the circumstance that some of them were military men, *but by the actual discovery, that, several of them were furnished with instructions to obtain the soundings of the harbours, and to procure military surveys of the places where it was intended they should reside*—His Majesty felt it his duty to prevent their departure to their respective places of destination, and represented to the *French* government, the necessity of withdrawing them; and it cannot be denied, that, the circumstances under which they were sent, and the instructions which were given to them, ought to be considered as decisive indications of the dispositions and intentions of the government by whom they were employed.”

“The conduct of the *French* government, with respect to the commercial intercourse between the two countries, must therefore be considered as ill-suited to a state of peace, and their proceedings, in their more general political relations, as well as in those which immediately concern his Majesty's dominions, appear to have been altogether inconsistent with every principal of good faith, moderation, and justice. His Majesty had entertained hopes, in consequence of the repeated assurances, and professions of the *French* government, that, they might have been induced to adopt a system of policy, which if it had not inspired other powers with confidence, might at least have allayed their jealousies. If the *French* government had really appeared to be actuated by a due attention to such a system; if their dispositions had been essentially pacific, allowances would have been made for the situation in which a new government must be placed after so dreadful and extensive a convulsion as that which has been produced by the *French* revolution. But his Majesty has unfortunately had too much reason to observe and to lament, that, the system of violence, aggression, and aggrandizement, which characterised the proceedings of the different governments of *France* during the war, has been continued with as little disguise since its termination. They have continued to keep a *French* army in *Holland* against the will, and in defiance of the remonstrance of the *Batavian* government, and in repugnance of the letter of three solemn treaties. They have in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence
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of the *Swiss* nation, in defiance of the treaty of *Lunéville*, which had stipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to choose their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions of *France*, *Piedmont*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and the island of *Elba*, without allotting any provision to the king of *Sardinia*, whom they have despoiled of the most valuable part of his territory, though they were bound by a solemn engagement to the *Emperor of Russia*, to attend to his interests, and to provide for his establishment. It may, indeed, with truth be asserted, that, the period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the *Definitive treaty*, HAS BEEN MARKED WITH ONE CONTINUAL SERIES OF AGGRESSION, VIOLENCE, AND INSULT, ON THE PART OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT."

"In the month of October last, his Majesty was induced, in consequence of the earnest solicitations of the *Swiss* nation, to make an effort, by a representation to the *French* government, to avert the evils which were then impending over that country. This representation was couched in the most temperate terms, and measures were taken by his Majesty for ascertaining, under the circumstances which then existed, the real situation and wishes of the *Swiss Cantons*, as well as the sentiments of the other Cabinets of *Europe*. His Majesty learned, however, with the utmost regret, that no disposition to counteract these repeated infractions of treaties, and acts of violence, was manifested by any of the powers most immediately interested in preventing them; and his Majesty therefore felt, that, with respect to these

these objects, his single efforts could not be expected to produce any considerable advantage to those in whose favour they might be exerted."

It was about this time, that the *French* government first distinctly advanced the principle, that, his Majesty had no right to complain of the conduct, or interfere with the proceedings of *France*, on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the treaty of *Amiens*. That treaty was unquestionably founded upon the same principle as every other antecedent treaty or convention, on the assumption of the state of possession, and of engagements subsisting at the time of its conclusion; and if that state of possession and of engagements is materially affected by the voluntary act of any of the parties, so as to prejudice the condition on which the other party has entered into the contract, the charge so made, may be considered as operating virtually as a breach of the treaty itself, and as giving the party aggrieved a right to demand satisfaction or compensation for any substantial difference which such acts may have effected in their relative situation; but, whatever may be the principle on which the treaty is to be considered as founded, there is indisputably a general law of nations, which, though liable to be limited, explained, or restrained, by conventional law, is antecedent to it, and is that law or rule of conduct to which all sovereigns and states have been accustomed to appeal, where conventional law is admitted to have been silent. The treaty of *Amiens*, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does

not therefore assume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not specified in its stipulation, much less does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice of the violent and the powerful. The justice of the cause is alone a sufficient ground to warrant the interposition, of any of the powers of *Europe* in the differences which may arise between other states ; and the application and extent of that just interposition, is to be determined solely by considerations of prudence. These principles can admit of no dispute, but, if it were possible, that the new and extraordinary pretensions advanced by the *French* government, to exclude his Majesty from any right to interfere with respect to the concerns of other powers unless they made a specific part of the stipulations of the treaty of *Amiens* could be maintained, those powers would have a right at least to claim the benefit of this principle, in every case of difference between the two countries. The indignation of all *Europe* must surely then be excited by the declaration of the *French* government, that, in the event of hostilities, these very powers, who were no parties to the treaty of *Amiens*, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonstrances of his Majesty in their behalf, *are nevertheless to be made the victims of a war, which is alleged to arise out of the same treaty, and are to be sacrificed in a contest which they not only have not occasioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.*

“ His Majesty judged it most expedient, under the circumstances which then affected *Europe*, to abstain from

from a recurrence to hostilities, on account of the views of ambition, and acts of aggression, manifested by *France* on the Continent; yet an experience of the character and dispositions of the *French* government could not fail to impress his Majesty with a sense of the necessity of increased vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the interests of his people."

"Whilst his Majesty was actuated by these sentiments, he was called upon by the *French* government to evacuate the island of *Malta*. His Majesty had manifested, from the moment of the signature of the definitive treaty, an anxious disposition to carry into full effect, the stipulations of the treaty of *Amiens* relatively to that island.

"As soon as he was informed that the election of a *Grand Master* had taken place, under the auspices of the Emperor of *Russia*, and that it had been agreed by the different priories assembled at *St. Petersburg* to acknowledge the person whom the court of *Rome* should select out of those who had been named by them to be *Grand Master* of the Order of *St. John*, his Majesty proposed to the *French* government, for the purpose of avoiding any difficulties which might arise in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid; and when in the month of August, the *French* government applied to his Majesty to permit the *Neapolitan* troops to be sent to the island of *Malta*, as a preliminary measure for preventing any unnecessary delay, his Majesty consented without hesitation to this proposal, and gave directions for the admission of the *Neapolitan* troops
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into the island. His Majesty had, thus shown his disposition not only to throw no obstacle in the way of the execution of the treaty, but, on the contrary to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His Majesty cannot, however admit, that at any period since the conclusion of the treaty of *Amiens*, the *French* government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the stipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces from the island of *Malta*. At the time that this demand was made upon the *French* government, several of the most important stipulations of the arrangement respecting *Malta* remained unexecuted: the election of a *Grand Master* had not been carried into effect. The *tenth* article had stipulated, that the independence of the island should be placed under the guarantee and protection of *Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain* and *Prussia*. The Emperor of *Germany* had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like accession on the part of the other powers specified in the article. The Emperor of *Russia* had refused his accession, except on the condition that the *Maltese langue* should be abrogated; and the King of *Prussia* had given no answer whatever to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle upon the existence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the constitution of the order, since the conclusion of the treaty of peace. It was to the order of *St. John of Jerusalem* that his Majesty was by the first stipulation of the *tenth* article, bound

to restore the island of *Malta*. The order is defined to consist of those *langues* which were in existence at the time of the conclusion of the treaty: the three *French langues* having been abolished, and a *Maltese langue* added to the constitution. The order consisted, therefore, at that time, of the following *langues*, the *langues* of *Arragon*, *Castile*, *Germany*, *Bavaria*, and *Russia*. Since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the *langues* of *Arragon* and *Castile* have been separated from the Order, by *Spain*; a part of the *Italian langue* has been abolished by the annexation of *Piedmont* and *Parma* to *France*. There is strong reason to believe, that, it has been in contemplation to sequester the property of the *Bavarian langue*, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the *Russian langues* within the dominions of the Emperor.

“ Under those circumstances, the Order of *St. John* cannot now be considered as that body to which, according to the stipulation of the treaty, the island was to be restored; and the funds indispensably necessary for its support, and for the maintenance of the independence of the island, have been nearly, if not wholly, sequestered. Even if this had arisen from circumstances which it was not in the power of any of the contracting parties to the treaty to control, his Majesty would nevertheless have had a right to defer the evacuation of the island by his forces, until such time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preservation of the independence of the Order and of the island. But if these changes have taken place in consequence of any acts of the other parties to the treaty; [if the *French* government shall appear

appear to have proceeded upon a system of rendering the Order whose independence they had stipulated, incapable of maintaining that independence, his Majesty's right to continue in the occupation of the island, under such circumstances, will hardly be contested. It is indisputable, that, the revenues of the two *Spanish langues* have been withdrawn from the Order by his *Catholic Majesty*; a part of the *Italian langue* has in fact been abolished by *France*; through the unjust annexation of *Piedmont*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to the *French* territory. The Elector of *Bavaria* has been instigated by the *French* government to sequester the property of the Order within his territories; and it is certain, that they have not only sanctioned, but encouraged, the idea of the propriety of separating the *Russian langues* from the remainder of the Order.

“ As the conduct of the Governments of *France* and *Spain*, has therefore, in some instances, *directly*, and in others *indirectly*, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the Order, and thus destroyed its means of supporting its independence, *it is to those governments*, and not to *His Majesty*, that the non-execution of the *tenth* article of the Treaty of *Amiens* must be ascribed.

“ Such would be the just conclusion, if the *tenth* article of that treaty were considered as an arrangement by itself. It must be observed, however, that this article forms only a part of a treaty of peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the stipulations of which, must, upon a principle, common to all treaties, be construed as having a reference to each other.

“ His Majesty was induced by the treaty of peace, in consent to abandon, and to restore to the Order of St. John, the island of *Malta*, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition, which must necessarily be supposed to have had considerable influence with his Majesty, in inducing him to make so important a concession, was the acquiescence of the *French* government in an arrangement for the security of the *Levant*, by the eighth and ninth articles in the treaty, stipulating the integrity of the *Turkish* Empire, and the independence of the *Ionian Islands*, His Majesty has, however, since learned, that the *French* government have entertained views hostile to both these objects; and, that, *they have even suggested the idea of a partition of the Turkish Empire.* These views must now be manifest to all the world, from the official publication of Colonel *Sebastiani*; from the conduct of that officer, and of the other *French* agents, in his communication with Lord *Whitworth*.—His Majesty was, therefore, warranted in considering it to be the determination of the *French* government, to violate those articles of the treaty of peace, which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the *Turkish* Empire, and of the *Ionian Islands*, and consequently, he would not have been justified in evacuating the island of *Malta*, without receiving some other security, which might equally provide for these important objects. His Majesty accordingly feels, that, he has an incontestable claim, in consequence of the conduct of *France* since the treaty of peace, and with reference to the objects which made part

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Of the stipulations of that treaty, to refuse, under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the island of *Malta*; yet, notwithstanding this right, so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the *French* government to his Majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing, was, the evacuation of *Malta*, or the renewal of war!

“ If the views of ambition and aggrandizement, which have thus been manifested by the *French Government*, since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, have in so very particular a manner attracted the attention of his Majesty; it has been equally impossible for him not to feel, and not to notice the repeated indignities which have been offered by that Government, to his crown and his people. The report of Colonel *Sebastiani* contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against his Majesty's government, against the Officer who commanded his forces in *Egypt*, and against the *British* army in that quarter. This paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and indeed bears evidence upon the face of it, that, it is the official report of an accredited agent, published by the authority of the government to which it was addressed, who thereby, have given it their express sanction.

“ This report had been published a very short time, when another indignity was offered to this country, in the communication of the first Consul of *France* to the legislative body. In this communication, he presumes to affirm, in the character of Chief Magistrate

Magistrate of that country, "*That Great Britain cannot SINGLY contend against the power of France!*" An assertion as unfounded as it is indecent, *disproved by the events of many wars, and by none more than by those of the war which had been recently concluded.* Such an assertion, advanced in the most solemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of *Europe, can be considered in no other light than a defiance publicly offered to his Majesty, and to a brave and powerful people, who are both willing and able to defend his just rights, and those of their country, against every insult and aggression.*

"The conduct of the *First Consul* to his Majesty's Ambassador at his audience, in the presence of the Ministers of most of the Sovereigns and States of *Europe*, furnishes another instance of provocation on the part of the *French* government, which it would be improper not to notice on the present occasion, and the subsequent explanation of this transaction may be considered as having the effect of aggravating, instead of palliating, the affront.

"At the very time when his Majesty was demanding satisfaction and explanation on some of the points above-mentioned, the *French* minister at *Hamburg*, endeavoured to obtain the insertion in a *Hamburg* paper, of a most gross and opprobrious libel against his Majesty, and when difficulties were made respecting the insertion of it, he availed himself of his *official character of minister of the French republic*, to require the publication of it, by order of his government, in the gazette of the senate of that town.

With

With this requisition so made, the senate of *Hamburg* were induced to comply : and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free state made the instrument, by the manace of the *French* government, of propagating throughout *Europe*, upon their authority, the most offensive and unfounded calumnies against his Majesty and his government. His Majesty might add to this list of indignities, the requisition which the *French* government have repeatedly urged, that, *the laws and constitution of his country should be changed, relatively to the liberty of the Press*. His Majesty might likewise add the calls which the *French* government have, on several occasions made upon him, to violate the laws of humanity, with respect to persons who had found an asylum within his dominions, and against whose conduct no charge whatever, has, at any time, been substantiated. It is impossible to reflect on these different proceedings, and the course which the *French* government have thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the thorough conviction, that, they are not the effect of accident ; but, that, they form a part of a system which has been adopted for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his Majesty and his government.

“ Under all these insults and provocations his Majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded, with every degree of temper and moderation, to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means consistent with his honour and the safety of his dominions, to induce the government of *France* to concede to him, what is, in his judgment,

judgment, absolutely necessary for the future tranquility of *Europe*. His efforts in this respect have proved abortive, and he has therefore judged it necessary, to order his ambassador to leave *Paris*. In having recourse to this proceeding, it has been his Majesty's object to put an end to the fruitless discussions which have so long subsisted between the two governments, and to close a period of suspense peculiarly injurious to the subjects of his Majesty,

“ But though the provocations which his Majesty has received, might entitle him to larger claims than those which he has advanced, yet anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of *Europe*, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all *Europe*, that notwithstanding all the changes which have taken place since the treaty of Peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of *France*, in repugnance to that treaty, and to the spirit of peace itself, his Majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances, to demand in compensation, all that he is entitled to require ; but will be ready to concur, even now in an arrangement, by which, satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of *France*.

“ His Majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he
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has found himself compelled to resort.—He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state ; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement ; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system which if not resisted may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world.”

It is well known that this declaration, dictated by wisdom, moderation, and sound policy, had no effect upon the ferocious *Corfican*. War was the inevitable result—*Hanover* has been overrun by a *French* army under the command of General *Mortier*, and the unhappy inhabitants have experienced the horrors attendant on *French* invasion, to add, if possible, the detestations in which such unprincipled governments are held, the enormities committed in that unhappy country, are such as can never be erased from the memory of the unfortunate inhabitants, nor can they ever be held in sufficient execration ; indeed it would (by the sanguinary decrees executed in that devoted country) have been imagined that *Buonaparte* had arrived at the height of cruelty, that the most savage disposition would have been glutted, if daily experience did not convince us that depravity of mind when bent upon ambitious purposes knows no bound. Plunder by the soldiery, and requisition by the government of *France* were among the least of the evils of this *pater-
nal* invasion. Murder and Rape were crimes to which the *French* soldiers were familiarized, the innocent virgin and the venerable matron were equally the victims of these diabolical lust, and who to wind
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up the last sense of cruelty, were frequently butchered in the most inhuman manner by the *fiends of war*, whose avowed motive in the invasion of their country, was to *restore them to their rights*, and to save them from the *grievous tyranny* under which they so long had laboured.

CHAP. XXIII.

His Britannic Majesty foiled in his attempt to remain neutre as Elector of Hanover.—General Mortier issues a Proclamation promising freedom and protection to the Hanoverians.—Gasconading threats.—Victories of the English.—Buonaparte endeavours to excite differences between England and the Continental powers.—His arbitrary measures towards Spain and Portugal.—Disturbs the tranquility of Ireland.—Retrospect of the happiness and morality of the Parisians.—Marriage of the widow Leclerc to the Prince de Borghese.—treatment of English prisoners.

AS soon as his *Britannic Majesty* had intimation of the intention of *Buonaparte* to seize the *Electorate of Hanover*, he issued a declaration, in his capacity of *Elector*, to preserve the strictest neutrality, and that he relied on the treaty of *Luneville* for protection in this case. From this line of conduct on the part of his Majesty considerable hopes were entertained that the continental powers would interfere in
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behalf of that unfortunate country, but such was the degraded state to which they were so shamefully reduced that the rapacious *Corfican* had nothing to fear from them.—He ordered General *Mortier* to take possession of all treasure both public and private. As to the resistance made by the Hanoverians, they loyally defended the country as long as prudence dictated, still no serious opposition could take place.—General *Mortier*, however, failed not to imitate the example of his worthy master. In order to betray and plunder the innocent people with greater facility, he issued a proclamation, in which he assured the *Hanoverians*, that he came not to destroy their peace or tranquillity, nor need they be under any alarm, as to their safety or property, his sole object was *to give them freedom and happiness!* and to break that yoke of bondage, under which they so long had laboured.

“ I promise you,” says he, “ safety and protection, if, consulting your true interest, you separate your cause from that of the *Sovereign of Great Britain!*” Was General *Mortier* faithful to his promises? YES! consistent with the sentiments of *moderation* and *humanity* of the First Consul, he bestowed with lavish hand, to use the animated language of *Sheridan*, “ such protection as vultures give to lambs, covering and devouring them.” He gave them freedom! True; but it was *Hobson’s choice*, “ *that or none.*” After exhausting by requisitions every resource of this unhappy country, the *French* forced the deputies of *Hanover* to contract, in the name of *their* government, for several very large sums of money, both at *Hamburgh*, *Bremen*, *Leber*, *Nuremberg*, *Cassel*, and *Dresden*. The point
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of the bayonet accompanies these arbitrary demands, and to plead inability to comply, would only subject them to *Buonaparte's* mercy, which would be, in plain language, to butcher them in cold blood. Such is the freedom given by *France*, such are the effects of *French* fraternization, while the continental powers remain passive spectators of this work of devastation, or vent their complaints in idle unavailing threats.

While part of the *French* army was thus actively employed in *Hanover*, *Buonaparte* was not idle at home. His gigantic mind viewed with malignity the prosperity of England, and to strike at the root of her happiness, had long been his most ardent wish.—The moment was now arrived when he imagined he could gratify his resentment in the most ample manner, he accordingly issued orders throughout all the seaports, to prepare with unceasing diligence for the invasion of England. Gun-boats and flotillas became immediately the order of the day, as well inland as upon the coast, and in many instances the churches were converted into carpenter's shops; the troops from every quarter were ordered down to the coast, and the appearance of invasion seemed serious, while the official papers of *France* teemed with gasconading threats. "If the public," says the *Mercure de France*, "should wish to know our opinion upon this point, we hesitate not to say, that in case 50,000 *Frenchmen* effected a descent upon England, that the volunteers, the militia, the troops of the line, the army of reserve; and the *levy en masse*, shall not exist for *three months*, without being conquered. The universe will be surprised at the facility with which this idle machinery.

chinery, embarrassed by its own movements, would be shaken and overthrown, *England* would no longer exist as a country, but in name, at least for the present holders as they would be certainly extirpated from off the face of the earth."

What indignant pleasure must every *Briton* feel at this contemptible harangue; if any thing can be more preposterous than this gasconade, it must surely be the head that could conceive, and the audacity of the face that could unblushingly publish such degrading nonsense. The vanity of the *Frenchman* may indeed be buoyed up into a belief of his own boast; but the steady and intrepid *Englishman* must smile at his cupidity. The historical facts of past ages are a sufficient refutation of his arrogant presumption; let this deluded sycophant recur to the history of his own country, let him view the gallant exploits of the *English* in his own land, let him remember the fields of *Cressy*, *Agincourt*, and *Poitiers*, and he will find that a handful of *Englishmen* then gained immortal glory. We needed not, it is true, have referred to actions of so remote a date, to have convinced this egotist of his inconsistency; the actions of the *English* in the last war, some of which will ever be remembered by the *French*, are sufficient and convincing proofs that the independent spirit that pervaded the breasts of our forefathers, is still hereditary, and will be bequeathed unpolled to succeeding ages; and can *Britons*, who have given such proofs of bravery, be cowardly only when that vaunting foe shall have landed on their shores; when their constitution, and every thing that is dear to them is at stake?—No,

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every *British* heart recoils at the idea ; and the haughty foe, should he ever have the temerity to try the experiment, will receive a fatal proof of the fallacy of his conjecture.

The *English* made the most prudent and spirited preparations to repel the insults and aggressions of the enraged *Consul*, not only for self-defence at home, but for just retaliation abroad. An expedition was sent to the *West Indies*, and the capture of *St. Lucia*, and *Tobago* was the consequence : the favourite expedition of the *First Consul* was greatly retarded by a flotilla off *Calais* and *Boulogne* ; a Squadron, under the command of Sir *James Saumarez*, attacked and burnt the town of *Grenville*, while admiral *Montague* bombarded *Dieppe*. The *Elbe* and *Wefer* was shut up by our cruisers, and admiral *Cornwallis*, with the grand fleet, blocked up the harbour of *Brest* ; in short, the whole of the coast from the *Elbe* and *Wefer* to *Brest*, was blockaded by the *British* cruisers, whose activity and undaunted courage, protracted from time to time, the sailing of the expedition, which was not only to decide the fate of *England*, but of all *Europe*.

While these extraordinary efforts were making by the *English* on the coast of *France*, their army also was put on the most respectable footing at home. The threats of invasion operated like an enthusiastic stroke upon the minds of the people ; all ranks were eager in testifying their zeal and loyalty, and in promoting, to the utmost of their power, the plans the legislature had adopted for the defence of the country. *England*, thus prepared, waited with that calmness which is the result of conscious integrity, for the moment

moment when the haughty *Corfican* would put his threats into execution.—Not so.—*Buonaparte*, frustrated in the darling object of his ambition, by the gallantry displayed upon his own coast, turned his thoughts to continental politics, and sought, by the most wily machinations, to destroy the credit of the *British* Government in the various courts of *Europe*; he gave to his accredited agents at those courts, the most positive orders to represent *England* as the aggressor and first violator of the treaty of *Amiens*, he stated that the blockade of the *Elbe* and *Weser*, (a measure the *British* resorted to with the greatest reluctance,) as a daring infraction on the rights and privileges of the *German* powers, he stated also that the safety of all *Europe* was at stake while *England* was paramount at sea, but all availed nothing; therefore finding that his invidious assertions did not gain that ground he had so fondly imagined they would, he had recourse to threats; the cabinet of *Vienna* insisted upon the right it had in observing the strictest neutrality, and refused to comply with the demand of the *French* of shutting up its ports against the *English*; similar demands were made to the *Danish* and *Swedish* Courts, where, conscious of their weakness, he expected no resistance, in this case his expectations were also blasted, for the *Emperor* of *Russia*, had long wished to stem the rapid torrent of *French* encroachment, and had sought by mediation to reconcile the differences betwixt the contending powers, but the inordinate ambition of *France* was an effectual barrier to his humane and generous endeavours; therefore finding his expectations fruitless, and convinced that it was
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necessary he should take something upon himself in the distressed state of *European* politics, he gave in answer to the applications of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, most solemn promise of assistance in case of any encroachment on the part of *France*. *Buonaparte* thus far baffled, made his next attempt upon *Spain* and *Portugal*, in which through the imbecility of those powers he succeeded. He accused *Portugal* of various breaches of neutrality by affording protection to the *English* Cruisers, which may indeed be considered as that manifesto of the *French* government which is to justify its extortions and give greater effect to the menaces of the *First Consul*; it was ostentatiously announced that General *Angereau* had set off for *Bayonne* to take command of an army of 50,000 men destined for the invasion of *Portugal*. This threat had the desired effect that *Buonaparte* desired: the timidity of the prince *Regent* was such that he immediately complied with his most arbitrary edicts, which was the total exclusion of all *English* ships from their harbours, and its active co-operation in the descent upon the *British Isles*. Nay, so far did the prince *Regent* testify himself the devoted slave of *France*, as to dine with General *Lafnes*, the *French* Ambassador, a circumstance quite unprecedented at the port of *Portugal*; and on the 29th September, General *Lafnes* had the impudence to desire the prince *Regent* and his *Consort* to stand sponsors for his child, which they absolutely complied with.

The demand of *Buonaparte* upon *Spain*, was not less extravagant than upon *Portugal*, 30,000,000 of livres, 25,000 soldiers, and 20 ships of the line, to be placed

at the disposal of the *First Consul*, was the price of his forbearance to attack the *Spanish* territories. Mighty condescension indeed ! Will future ages ever believe that a needy and exasperated adventurer could arrive at that height of insolence and power, as thus to dictate to the first monarchies of Europe ? Will posterity consider these assertions as fabulous, and stigmatize the honest records of the historian, as chimerical and fictitious ?

Notwithstanding the duplicity of the courts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, *Buonaparte* was far from being contented with his success to wound *England*, because she was too independent to crouch to him, was the principal object at which he aimed : to succeed in this, no sacrifice was too great, no sacrifice was too mean ; and, being foiled in his attempt to excite the Powers of the north to arms, he felt the most poignant chagrin ; he, therefore, among the needy *Irish* at *Paris*, selected a few desperate and daring enough to accept the offer made of exciting insurrection in the kingdom of *Ireland*. For this purpose, these miscreants received instructions, and, with promises of support, began their insidious endeavours to corrupt the people of that country ; unhappily, the differences that exist there in religious matters, formed but too open a field for the crafty agents of *Buonaparte*, and they succeeded in bringing over to their views the most vicious and profligate of the lowest orders of society. To these desparadoes the commotion that shook the *Irish* capital on the 23d July, 1803, are to be attributed, and which ended in the murder of the amiable Lord *Kilwarden* and his nephew ; however,

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the Government of *Ireland* discovered the plot before these misguided traitors could carry into execution their wicked designs, any farther than the brutal and horrid catastrophe above-mentioned. By the activity of the Police, the leaders of this detestable conspiracy were pursued to their retreats, apprehended, and brought to that justice which such a violation of the laws of their country demanded. Tranquillity was restored by the vigour of Government, and *Buonaparte* had the mortification to see, that in his attempt upon the *British*, his evil genius still attended him; and to contemplate in the palace of *St. Cloud*, the magnificent spectacle of the *British* flag waving triumphant upon the walls of the *Irish* metropolis.

The conduct of *Buonaparte* in his diplomatic concerns with foreign Powers, having no characteristic but that of tyranny, perfidy, and baseness, it will not be supposed, that in the administration of affairs at home, the sacred principles of justice will be more regarded, for if we must credit the picture exhibited by the Prefect of Police to the Grand Judge of *Paris*, for the last republican year, ending September 28, 1803, it must be confessed, that it is but a gloomy retrospect of the happiness or morality of that people. The Prefect observes, that in the course of the year, 690 men, and 267 women have committed suicide; 281 men, and 269 women have been murdered, of whom 95 men, and 72 women were foreigners, strangers, or persons whose bodies have not been owned: 644 divorces have taken place; 255 murderers have been executed, 2210 persons have been condemned to the galleys; 1646 have been sentenced to hard labour

labour, for longer or shorter imprisonment, and 64 have been marked with hot Irons ; among the criminals executed, were 17 fathers who had poisoned their children, 50 husbands who had murdered their wives, 60 wives who had poisoned their husbands, and 15 children who had poisoned or otherwise destroyed their parents : during the same period, 22076 prostitutes have been registered and have paid for the protection of the police, 508 public brothels licensed and privileged, and 470 gambling houses received the sanction of Government; thus much for the mild and happy administration of the first *Consul*, and for his fatherly care of the morals of his people.

To raise his family from its primitive obscurity, and to bring it to a level with the situation he had usurped, he sought to unite the single branches of his family with families eminent for their riches and power ; and this stern republican who would not demean himself so far as to *accept* the throne of Kings, thought it no disparagement to induce his sister the Widow *Leclerc*, by artful blandishments, to entrap into an alliance the Prince *de Borghese*. The marriage was celebrated at *Morfontane*, with the greatest splendour, after which the Prince and Princess set off for *Rome*. This brings to view another instance of the versatility of *Buonaparte's* principle, and proves that royalty has charms when it contributes to the establishment of his power, and that republicanism had virtues while it paved the way, or concentrated the means of assuming it.

In all wars between civilized powers it has been an established practice, dictated by humanity, to treat

the persons whom the fortune of war made prisoners, will all the attention consistent with their safe keeping: how far *Buonaparte* has acted upon that principle, we have already witnessed too striking a proof of his conduct at *Jaffa*, and other places, is too recent in our memory to suppose even for a moment, that he could divest himself of his savage and brutish propensity; and his treatment of the *English* nobility, whom he seized in the most unlawful manner, sufficiently evinces the fact. The following extract of a letter from one of those unfortunate gentlemen, dated at *Fort Bischo Metz*, Dec. 9, 1803, will convince, we presume, most of our readers, that murder may be committed more ways than one.

“I arrived here yesterday with forty four of my Countrymen;—Our situation is indeed shocking; on our march from *Valenciennes*, we were treated as criminals, and the whole of the way we were forced to march between *Gens d’armes*; I offered to pay for a horse, but was refused, unless I would hire horses for the whole party; for the two first nights we were lodged in cold damp churches, a third, in a horrid dungeon; and a fourth, in a common goal: at length in order to obtain any degree of humanity shewn us, we agreed with our escort to pay to each *Gens d’armes*, *fifteen livres per day*, for permission to sleep at the inns, where we were further imposed on in a most infamous manner. The prefects commissaries, and the military, abused our country and insulted us personally every where. Within the narrow limits of this fort, we are permitted to take the air for two hours in the day only; for the remainder we are shut up in
gloomy,

gloomy, damp, and dirty dungeons, where none has, as yet been able to procure a mattress, though five times the value has been offered for them, and the straw given us as well as the dungeon itself, is full of vermin." Does not the human heart shrink abhorrent from this treatment? What have not *Britons* to congratulate themselves upon, by having, as far as it was possible, rendered the prisons in this country as happy as their situation would admit? This humane proceeding carries with it its own reward, and the hearts of these unfortunate men cannot but be impressed with the liveliest sensations of gratitude to that nation which, forgetful of the aggressions and insults received, still make humanity its leading feature.

CHAP. XXV.

Buonaparte alarmed causes General Moreau to be arrested—which is succeeded by the arrest of Pichegru, Georges, &c.—Moreau banished—The murder of Pichegrue.

AFTER the various acts of cruelty and injustice, the violations of all laws, humane and divine, the repeated encroachments upon the rights of the people, and the usurpation of the government of the country, it is not to be wondered that there should exist in *France* many very respectable characters whose independant spirit could not brook the tyranny of the

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First Consul. That these persons seeing the rights of man and feelings of humanity so frequently outraged, should unite in their detestation of so odious a character, and seek to destroy the fabric of his power, is no matter of surprize, the tyrant carries in his own breast the seeds of discontent and reads in the aspect of an injured people that indignant spirit that destroys his repose ; the stern brow of the patriot strikes a dagger to his heart, and hurries to his recollection the baseness of the means by which he arrived at the summit of his power.—*Buonaparte* had long viewed in *Moreau* a dangerous rival, and knowing the respect that was paid by the people to this patriotic general, had marked him out as the object of his suspicions, consequently of his revenge ; he had thus, while heaping upon the flatterers and sycophants around him the greatest favors and promotions, neglected the “victor of *Hohenlinden*,” who like another *Cincinnatus* was improving in retirement the abilities, which from their being so essentially servicable to his country, had justly entitled him to their gratitude and esteem.

Pichegru, an illustrious General, who had fought the battles of the Republic with the greatest success, was accused by the Directory of conspiring against the Republic, with having attempted to bring about a Counter Revolution, and plotting for the restoration of *Louis* the Eighteenth, for which he was banished to *Cayenne* ; he however found means to escape and arrived in safety in *Great Britain*, where he remained for a considerable time—but considering the evils his country had laboured under during so long a course
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of revolutionary conflicts, he kept his mind still bent upon the re-establishment of Royalty in *France*, and for this purpose, he associated with *Georges* and others, and sought by one grand and decisive blow to destroy the power of *Buonaparte*, and to place upon the throne of his ancestors the Brother of the amiable and virtuous *Louis XVI.* As it will be needless in this work to trace this conspiracy through its various ramifications we shall only briefly state that to carry into effect these designed measures, *Pichegru* went to *Paris*, and it is said had an interview with General *Moreau*, but it does not appear that this interview ended in the satisfaction of either of the parties, it was however upon this and some past letters from *Moreau*, that he was implicated in the Treason of *Pichegru*, *Georges*, &c. and was among the first seized and thrown into prison ; but though every art was tried, and the invention of the agents and spies of *Buonaparte* racked for evidence against him, nothing criminal could be proved, every proof appearing of his innocence ; yet it would not be consistent with the policies of *Buonaparte*, to have acquitted him with that honour which his virtue and well earned Laurels demanded ; he must be disgraced, and as a defeated conspiracy nerves with additional force the arm of the Tyrant, the devoted victim must feel its weight. *Moreau* was sentenced to two years imprisonment, but the punishment has since been changed to banishment, in consequence of which General *Moreau* and his family have embarked for *America*, carrying with them the best wishes of the people of *France*, and the prayers of every advocate of civil and religious Liberty.

On the 28th of February, 1804, General *Pichegru* was arrested after much resistance, and conveyed to the Temple; a proclamation was also issued for the apprehension of *Georges* and his accomplices. Accordingly, on the night of the 9th of March, he, with *Leridan* the younger, was arrested in the *Place de l'Odeon*. He killed, with a pistol ball, the peace officer who stopped his horse, and wounded the officer who attempted to seize him; the inferior agents in this business were arrested every day, and conveyed to prison; and the Grand Judge in the course of a few days, presented the *First Consul* with a long list of the conspirators apprehended. The examination of the state prisoners, and the investigation of the conspiracy occupied in a great degree, the attention of *Buonaparte*, who, notwithstanding, dreaded the event; whether it was, that in the trial of *Pichegru*, circumstances would appear that might destroy his popularity, or that he feared to bring to a public execution the man who had laid the foundation of the present preponderance of *French* power, it is difficult to determine. *Pichegru* was removed to the *prison de la Force*, and in a short time ceased to exist. The *French* papers say that he committed suicide, but of this we have our doubts; for whoever recollects the facility which *Buonaparte* had acquired in ridding himself of persons in any degree obnoxious to him, will not be surprised at our entertaining any such ideas. Indeed, such is the inconsistency of the account given by the official papers of *France*, that the unprejudiced reader cannot but observe upon the face of them, glaring marks of fabrication. We give the following

following extract, as a specimen of their inconsistency. On the repeated requests he had made, and on giving his *word of honour* that he would make no attempt upon his life, *Pichegru* had obtained the dismissal of his guard during the night; every morning an attendant in waiting came to light his fire with a bundle of wood. *Pichegru*, on one of the preceding mornings, had laid aside part of a faggot, by which he thought he might put an end to his existence; in short, on the evening of the 5th of April, *Pichegru*, after having supped heartily at 11 o'clock, went to bed about twelve; the attendant being retired, *Pichegru* drew from under the pillow where he had placed it, a black silk handkerchief, which he tied tight about his neck; the piece of wood he had secreted was then called in aid to his project of suicide, and, by being introduced into the ends of the handkerchief, was twisted tight by the pressure upon the glands of the neck; a stoppage was thus put to respiration. Next day, in the morning, the attendant came to kindle his fire; he looked towards *Pichegru's* bed, and saw him, as he supposed, in a profound sleep; at half past seven, the attendant again went up, when the head of *Pichegru* was still quietly resting upon his pillow, and again went away, still fearing to interrupt his sleep. At nine o'clock he went up a third time, and, observing no alteration in the posture of the prisoner, he began to feel surprise that he should sleep so long; therefore he went up to the bed, when he saw his face pale and distorted; he then stirred the body, and found it lifeless, and without motion." Such is the patched up account given by the *French papers*; and surely,
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a more barefaced one never before appeared in a public print. It agrees, however, with the judicial report, and process verbal, which states, that "on the morning of the 6th of April, they found the body of *Charles Pichegru*, with a black silk handkerchief about his neck, through which was passed a small stick, which was twisted so as to cause a strangulation." After stating the appearance of the body, they give as their opinion, that "*the ex-general, Charles Pichegru, was guilty of suicide.*"

As a proof of the absurdity of the supposition that *Pichegru* was his own executioner, let us refer to the general usage of prisoners in that situation. In the particular case of treason, the bringing a culprit to justice is an object of the greatest national importance; and the safeguard of such delinquents is placed in officers of the highest trust; and, besides the general means adopted for their security, a guard has always attended; it is not then to be supposed that the *First Consul* would relax in any degree from the severity of the established forms, neither is it likely that he could confide in the honour of a man accused of a conspiracy against his government and his life. It is a common but just observation, that most who have cunning enough to commit villainous actions unperceived, generally entrap themselves by some oversight. *Pichegru's* death is a forcible illustration of this fact. It is astonishing with what precision and calmness the *Moniteur* enters into the particulars of this affair, particularly in relating the following circumstances: *after the guard had retired, Pichegru drew from under his pillow, where he had placed it, a*
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black handkerchief, which he tied slightly about his neck, &c. Wonderful ingenuity indeed ! And yet it was not known that he was dead until Nine o'clock next morning. Again, had he been his own executioner, the involuntary struggle under a suffocation, when bereft of his senses, would have surely discomposed his bed ; but what says his attendant. Why, that when he first entered the room he looked towards the bed, and saw him, as he supposed, in a *profound sleep*, and at his second visit, at seven in the morning, he still appeared *quietly resting upon his pillow, &c.*—In short, his bow-string men had forgot to rumple the bed, or to place him in any disordered state consistent with the last agonies of death.

The centinel, outside of *Pichegru's* room, stated, that “ he heard in the night a considerable degree of bustle and noise.” This was most likely while the mutes were at work ; but were the effects of this struggling, &c. consistent with the composed posture in which the attendant represented the unfortunate general, when he looked towards the bed ? But though we are far from thinking that every one who dies in the prison of a tyrant, is uniformly disposed of by clandestine means, yet, as the bowstring, the dagger, and the bowl, are among the common instruments of tyranny, and its best policy to prevent pity and regard from attaching to the victims of its power, which are the necessary consequences of a public execution, we are inclined to believe; that the illustrious man, of whom we are now speaking, from the circumstances of his mysterious death, and the complexion of his character, **FELL BY PRIVATE ASSASSINATION, IN THE DUNGEONS OF THE TEMPLE.**

CHAP. XXVI.

The arrest and murder of the Duke de Enghein.—The servility of the Germanic Body.—Character of Mehee de la Touche.—Trial and Execution of Georges and his accomplices.—Interesting Address of the younger Polignac.—Buonaparte nominated Emperor of the Gauls.—Conclusion,

WHILE these atrocious affairs were transacting in the Temple, *Buonaparte* rendered the government of *France* still more odious, by an encroachment more flagrant, and a murder more outrageous in itself, than perhaps ever disgraced the Roman empire under the cruel reigns of *Nero* or *Caligula*. The month of March 1804, will ever be recorded as a period that would stamp with infamy, the administration of *France*, even though no trace of tyranny had been evinced before. It was at this eventful time that *Buonaparte*, forgetful of all respect due to independent powers, invaded the territories of the Elector of *Baden*, and dragged, by an armed and brutal force, in open violation of the rights of nations, from the protection of the laws of the Electorate, the illustrious *Duke de Enghein*. This encroachment is the more unjustifiable, as the weakness of that state precluded all idea of opposition. A state whose utmost military establishment never exceeded 10,000 men, had little chance of opposing a powerful nation, like that of *France*, the government of which is, in the strictest sense of the word, a military despotism.

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By forced marches, the unfortunate Duke arrived at *Paris*, in the evening of the 20th of March, in a coach and six, under an escort of fifty *Gens d'Armes*, and was conveyed to the Temple, but was not imprisoned there, his conductors finding an order to convey him to the Castle of *Vincennes*. On his arrival there, a special military commission was immediately assembled by order of General *Murat*, commander in chief of the first military division, and governor of *Paris*. The fatigue of the Prince was such that he could not refrain from sleeping at this critical time, as, from the moment of his seizure, he had not been allowed to rest night or day, but such was the peremptory orders of the *First Consul*, that not a moment was to be lost in bringing him to his mock trial.

This commission charges him with having borne arms against the Republic.

Second,—With having offered his services to the *English* government.

Third,—With having received and accredited the agents of the said government; of having procured them the means of carrying on a correspondence in *France*, and of having conspired with them against the internal and external safety of the state.

Fourth,—With having put himself, at the head of a body of Emigrants and others, paid by *England*, and formed on the frontiers of *France*, in the territories of *Fribourg*, and *Baden*.

Fifth,—With having maintained a correspondence at *Strasbourg*, in order to excite a rising in the neighbouring

bouring departments, for the purpose of making a diversion in favour of *England*.

Sixth,—With being an accomplice in the conspiracy framed by the *English*, against the life of the *First Consul*, and intending, in case of success, to enter *France*.

From what has been said of the extraordinary means resorted to in his apprehension, it will not be supposed the military commission would hesitate long in finding him guilty. He was adjudged to suffer death by being shot, at one o'clock in the morning, an hour perfectly co-incident with the character of assassins. He wished to speak with the *First Consul*, but this was too great a favour to be granted. Finding himself, therefore, sacrificed to the vindictive rage of an usurper, he collected himself, with the most unparalleled fortitude, and met his fate with that calmness and resignation which conscious innocence, supported by virtue, alone inspires. He marched about one o'clock in the morning, to the wood of *Vincennes*, the place appointed for his execution, with undaunted firmness, and when the guard approached to tie a bandage over his eyes, he desired them to desist; observing, that he would not disgrace, by pusillanimous weakness, in his last moments, the heroic virtues of his ancestors.

Looking round to the guard appointed for his executioners, he remarked, that he was happy that his countrymen were spared the additional disgrace of being his murderers; and, observing the *Italians* (for it was from these his executioners were selected) with
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their muskets levelled, waiting for the signal, he requested with a complacent smile, that they would level higher, adding, with unequal greatness of mind, you may wound, but not kill me. The fatal signal was given, and the unfortunate Prince fell and expired without a groan.

Thus perished in the flower of his age, the last illustrious Prince of the Condean branch of the *Bourbon* family, who was punished, not with that gravity and decorum with which acts of justice are executed in other civilized states, but treated worse than the meanest criminal, and shot as a common deserter; though we are convinced he was innocent of most of the charges laid against him.

The *First Consul* may be said to improve every day upon the horrors of tyranny.—To amend even the worst acts of the most barbarous tyrants that ever disgraced history, and to canvass for the first place among the monsters of mankind! As a sample of this, let us observe some of the new laws lately passed in *France*.

1st, Whoever conspires against the Republic, shall be punished with death.

2d, Whoever conspires against the *First Consul*, shall be punished with death.

3d, Whoever attempts to disturb the Government of *France*, shall be punished with death.

The vaguity of these laws are such, that the genius of tyranny is evidently employed in forming them. As the laws of treason are the most formidable engine against oppression in a government, and those which chiefly come in contact with the liberties of the people

ple, to accumulate or render them lax or indefinite, is the most arbitrary stretch of power in the magistrature. *Montesquieu*, a learned *French* author, has observed, when contemplating the beauties of the *British* constitution, that the greatest bulwark of *English* liberty is the precision of the laws of treason : he also adds, that any vagueness, or laxity in construing them, are sufficient in themselves to introduce slavery into a state.

Wretched indeed is the servitude of that state, in which the laws are either vague or unknown ; the generality and looseness of laws, are traps set by tyrants to catch such as they are determined to make victims of their power. Upon what principle has the Duke de *Enghein* been killed ? He was no subject, but an enemy, and an enemy is not amenable to those laws by which subjects are tried. He was in natural hostility to the *French* Republic, and no rebel. It is ridiculous to say that there was a law to punish him ; the laws of a state are only obligatory on the subjects of that state.

France has passed the treason laws before mentioned, and by them we see, that the *First Consul* might, according to the construction of his statutes, seize whomsoever he might choose to imagine an enemy, in any quarter of Europe. Upon this principle, an *Englishman*, might be seized and executed, chapter and section might be cited for his condemnation. He would have plenty of law, but no justice. It is difficult to find a parallel for such abominable acts of tyranny

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We cannot close this article without observing, that the atrocity of this murder excited universal commiseration. The promptitude of his arrest, the expedition with which he was conveyed to *Vincennes* :—the activity of the commission in condemning him, the short time allowed from condemnation to execution ; above all, the hour at which he was executed, created in the minds of the people the most poignant sensations of anguish. The popularity of *Buonaparte* suffered much from this arbitrary and tyrannic act, which contributed to heighten the shade of a character already sufficiently gloomy. Happy *Britons* ! blessed with freedom and prosperity, you can tranquilly sleep undisturbed by midnight murder, committed under the sanction of law ; nor are the pages of your history disgraced by the assassinations of the unhappy victims of arbitrary power.

The King of *Sweden* being at *Ettenheim*, at the time of the arrest of the Duke *De Enghein*, immediately dispatched a messenger to his Minister at *Paris*, with orders to exert himself in uniting the whole diplomatic body in a strong remonstrance to the *French* Government to save the Duke from the fate which threatened him ; but such was the readiness with which the orders of the *First Consul* were obeyed, that the generous and humane endeavours of the King of *Sweden* were ineffectual. The Duke was executed before a remonstrance could be made.

This flagrant violation of the rights of independent states, was viewed with the calmest indifference by the
generality

generality of the members of the Germanic body; it is true; the Emperor of *Russia* protested against the infraction, and was seconded by the spirited note of the King of *Sweden*; several of the members had complimented *Buonaparte le Grand* on the happy issue of the conspiracy, and therefore could not enter so far into the question as to resent so violent and unjust an aggression.

The Elector of *Baden*, by a verbal message, expressed to bear the highest respect to the purity of the views of the Emperor of *Russia*, and was penetrated with gratitude for his Imperial Majesty's good will to his electoral house, and could not suppress his deepest regret at the event in question, that weighty consideration, connected with the pacific sentiments of the *French* government, as also in those of its sublime Chief, for the welfare of the German empire, and in explanations which have been given, consistent with the said event, have induced his Electoral Highness to wish that the discussion, which had already too much agitated the minds of all parties, might be passed over without farther discussion—The Ministers of *Austria* and *Prussia* acquiesced in this defence of the conduct of *Buonaparte*, which is pusillanimous and weak to the last degree, nor does the *German* Emperor's note, of July the 13th, 1804, breathe any more spirit—he, though the chief of a powerful empire, professed to believe that the Elector of *Baden* was right in supposing that *France* could explain away her violent conduct at *Ettenheim*, and that she would come pure out of the ordeal; at the same time the *Austrian* Minister thought it necessary for the dignity of his court, that the matter should be discussed.

cuffed, and a fair opportunity given to *France*, of vindicating herself from the surmise of suspicion.— In other words, the Emperor thought a trial *pro forma*, a necessary thing, and that the criminal should be arraigned, though he plead with a pardon in his pocket.

As *England* has been charged with being the author of the conspiracy against the life of *Buonaparte*, it may not be amiss to give to the public, the character of one of the confidential agents of the *First Consul*, upon whose authority the *English* ministry are implicated in a transaction so contrary to their principles and character. He is called in the correspondence, M. D. L. His real name is *Mehee de la Touche*. His character might justly excite surprise, as to the employing such a man, but no blame can attach to government upon the occasion, and we must suppose that some of the leading Emigrants here, who patronized him, were deceived by him. *Mehee de la Touche* was secretary to the Commune of *Paris*, at the time of the massacre in September, 1792. At the period of the 18th Brumaire, he was condemned as a Jacobin, and sent to the *Isle de Oleron*, from whence he was to be transported to *Cayenne*. It was proved at this time that he was the person who paid the Septemberizers their wages, for the murder of *Madame de Lamballe*, and the other prisoners. While he was at the *Isle de Oleron*, some friend at *Paris* suggested to the *French* government, that he might be usefully employed in *England*. He was suffered to make his escape in an *American* vessel, bound to *England*, and was furnished with money by the Consular Government. How he ingratiated himself into the favour of

the Emigrants, we know not. They were certainly ignorant of his character, and his mission; but unfortunately, it has not been difficult, during the whole progress of the revolution, to acquire their confidence. Sanguine of success, from the belief of the justice of their cause; indignant at the crimes and usurpations of the different despots that have afflicted *France*, they have been too prone to believe, that every man who has expressed abhorrence of the tyranny of the revolutionary leaders, has really felt it. *Mehee de la Touche* adopted this method. No man was more loud in his expression of indignation and disgust against the conduct of *Buonaparte*; and, in the different public and private meetings and dinners of the Emigrants, the rage of *M. de la Touche* exceeded that of every other person. He accounted for his inordinate zeal, by confessing himself to have had some revolutionary failings. He had once thought the revolution a benefit, he now found it nothing more than a *splendid crime*. He had once even admired the character of *Buonaparte*. By these means he acquired the confidence of the Emigrants, and through their representations he went over to Mr. *Drake*, who received him for the mere purpose of doing that which the ambassador of every court in *Europe* is charged to do, viz. to gain accurate and ample intelligence of the real state of *France*, which no government can expect to do from the *French* papers.

The importance of the transactions connected with the death of the *Duke de Enghein*, have led us to dwell rather longer upon them than was at first intended

tended in this work, but we hope our excuse will be granted by the candid reader, when he considers that the general knowledge of such odious transactions is necessary to impress upon our own minds a due degree of abhorrence at such proceedings, and to appreciate, at their true value, the blessings we enjoy, under the mild influence of a constitution, the admiration and envy of the world !

At the latter end of May, 1804, *Georges* and his accomplices were put upon their trial. After the different articles of accusation against them were read, *Georges* with that frankness natural to him, avowed boldly that his object was to restore Monarchy in France, in the person of *Louis XVIII.* and that he only sought the means. *Arnaud de Polignac* and others made nearly the same declaration, but, denied any knowledge of a conspiracy against the life of *Buonaparte*.

The Imperial Commissary, after summing up the evidence, adjudged the sentence of death against *Georges* and nineteen of his accomplices, five were sentenced to two years imprisonment, among whom *Moreau*, whose sentence was changed as before mentioned ; seventeen were acquitted, and five were ordered to the police for correction.

On the morning of the 25th of June, *Georges* and eleven of his companions in misfortune, were taken from the *Bicetre* to the *Conciergerie*, where the awful sentence was read to them : the only request made by these unfortunate men, was, that a priest might attend them in their last moments, they were removed from thence to the *Place de Greve*, which on this,

as well as former occasions, has been the last retreat of the unfortunate brave, while the *Thuilleries* still exhibit the contrast of being the asylum of successful guilt. They were guillotined between eleven and twelve o'clock, and it remains only to be observed in justice to the memory of *Georges*, that he made no submission whatever to the authority that tried him, and was even firm enough to refuse all request of pardon, when he need only to ask and have : he died with unexampled intrepidity and loyalty, and with no other ostentation than such as it was necessary in his situation to shew : a mind unbroken in the midst of death, from a conviction of the justice of the glorious cause for which he suffered. During the trial of the conspirators, a circumstance occurred that made a considerable impression upon the Judges as well as the audience ; it was the address of the younger *Po-lignac*, when before the tribunal. With a firm and intrepid voice, he thus addressed the court : " should my brother *Arnaud* be found guilty, and I declared innocent, I supplicate most earnestly to be permitted to take his place, and to die for him ; he has a wife, I am unmarried, and in the present situation of my king, my country, and my family, I have no ties that attach me to life ; which, besides I have not enjoyed long enough to lament its loss ; an unfortunate and loyal exile from my youth, I have tasted little of existence but its wretchedness, which now is become almost insupportable, and I see no other happiness or glory on this side the grave, than to be allowed to ascend the same scaffold where the most virtuous of men and the best of kings *Louis XVI.* has bled.

bled. My sentiments are unalterable, neither to be shaken by terror, or moved by clemency. No *Polignac* was ever traitor to his God, or to his king, and I certainly shall not be the first that dishonours my name. Whether I am to die in an hour, or to live a century, my last prayer shall be, that providence may restore to my country its lawful sovereign." During his speech of which this is only a sketch, several ladies in the *Galleries* evinced by their tears the interest he inspired; even the *Gens d'Armes* were moved at seeing his firmness and hearing his frankness.

While the minds of the people of *France* were agitated by the alarming reports of the danger of the country, from the dreadful conspiracy then investigating, *Buonaparte* was actively employed in forming a plan for rendering the government hereditary in his family; the dreadful scenes of counter revolutions, which had so oft deluged *Paris* with the blood of its best citizens, were called to remembrance by the crafty agents of the tyrant, and represented as being about to be renewed had not the vigilance and activity of the *First Consul*, frustrated their designs; from this they failed not to infer that *Buonaparte* was so dear to the nation, that it would be the most manifest ingratitude not to raise him to a dignity superior to the Governors of other states, and consistent with the grandeur of the *Great Nation*; by artifices such as these was the deluded *French* seduced to elevate to the highest degree of human grandeur, a wretch whose whole life has been a tissue of the blackest crimes.

The tribunate ever servile and complacent in the
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sitting of the 30th of April, after a most fulsome and degrading panegyric, passed the following decrees.

I. That *Napoleone Buonaparte* now *First Consul*, be declared *Emperor of the Gauls*.

II. That the imperial dignity be declared hereditary in his family.

These decrees were succeeded by congratulatory addresses from the different armies of the Republic, declaring in the most abject terms, their fealty and homage. Nothing now remained to complete this superstructure of tyranny; but the recognition of his title by the crowned heads of *Europe*; and it is with regret we remark that a too servile desire to maintain their present specious and momentary security, has induced but too many of the continental powers to countenance this usurpation, and to bow before a *Corfican* adventurer, clad in the IMPERIAL MANTLE OF DEGRADED LOYALTY.

WE have now traced, from infancy to the assumption of imperial power, the tyrant who, in imitation of Hannibal, has sworn eternal hatred to you, sons of Albion; he, whose avowed object is the annihilation of your existence, who lusts to lead his devastating minions unto your isle, to plunder your homes, to defile your daughters, and above all, to destroy your constitution! He, whose bloody and nefarious deeds will ever blacken the page of history, with recitations of horrors and crimes, arrogantly asserts, that you shall no longer exist but in name! It is to you,
 Britons,

Britons, who, feelingly alive to the tenderest sensibility of soul, love your wives as yourselves, your children with parental affection; and who view the constitution that secures your freedom and happiness, as your pride and boast, that he holds out his arrogant and insulting threats! And can you tamely brook the daring insult? Will you basely tarnish the well earned laurels of your ancestors, and degradingly suffer a ruffian band to commit their outrageous depredations with impunity? Will you become the slaves of *France*? and crouch to tinselled emptiness? No! The zeal already shewn in defence of your country, prohibits even the supposition. Arise, then, Britons! rally round the standard of your Sovereign! Be his name unto you a tower of strength. Supporters of of *George* and liberty! should the daring foe try the hostile experiment, you will convince them that you are still the descendants of the conquerors of *Cressy*, *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*! And, may the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, who sees the justice of your cause, and whose infinite wisdom will not suffer the unjust to triumph, give his blessings to your fleets and armies, then shall you conquer, and the world be at peace!

APPENDIX.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

THE following short account of the glorious exploits of the *British* army in *Egypt*, though not immediately connected with the life of *Buonaparte*, still as their influences in a great measure, severed the dearest interests of *Buonaparte's* ambition, totally annihilated his gigantic expedition, and completely defeated views nearest to his heart; we trust our readers will find it matter of highly interesting import, and not ill-timed as an appendix to the foregoing, when *Buonaparte* holds out to the world, the preposterous assertion that *Englishmen* alone, are not capable of coping with *Frenchmen*! Those memorable engagements, which determined the fate of *Egypt*, will ever remain a lasting monument of *British* bravery and heroism; by them the *British* characters has been raised to the highest pitch of military honor and renown. The grateful sensations, the honest pride and valorous dignity which must possess every bosom, cannot fail of inspiring that magnanimity and confidence which awaits with calmness and decision the eventful moment, which must break by one tremendous shock the iron arm of *French* ambition; or with that indignant,

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yet becoming pride, which prefers death to foreign slavery, side by side, *Englishmen*, one and all, will perish in the honorable, just and virtuous cause of defending their happy land from its detestable influence.

Without entering into any detail of the preliminary occurrences of the fleet, we proceed to state, that it arrived in *Aboukir Bay* on the 2d of March, 1801, under the command of Admiral Lord *Keith*, together with the whole of the transports and troops destined for the expedition, and cast anchor exactly where the battle of the Nile was fought.

The state of the weather was such as to preclude the possibility of landing, a circumstance the more painful to the *English*, as it enabled the enemy the better to meet the attack, and augmented considerably the difficulties of the one, while it facilitated the means of resistance of the other.

On the morning of the 8th, however, the wind becoming moderate, and the sea subsiding in a great degree, at two o'clock, the reserve, under the orders of Major General *Moore*, the brigade of Guards under Major General *Ludlow*, and a part of the 1st brigade, composed of the Royals, 1st battalion of the 54th, 200 of the 2d battalion, amounting in the whole to about 5500 men, under the command of Major General *Coote*, assembled in the boats, the remainder of the 1st and 2nd brigade being put into ships close to the shore, that a support might be quickly given, after the first landing was effected. At three o'clock the signal was made for their proceeding to rendezvous near the *Mondovi*, anchoring about gun-

shot from the shore ; but the extent of the anchorage was so great, that the assembling and arrangement of the boats could not be completed till near nine o'clock. " Here," continues Sir *Robert Wilson*, " let the reader pause for a moment, to dwell on this solemn scene, and imagine to yourself the feelings, the impatience, the suspense, which agitated every mind ; the hopes and fears which distracted the spectators ; the anxiety of the gallant Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* for the success of this hardy enterprize, and the fate of the intrepid men who so cheerfully engaged to execute his orders ! The heart of the brave man will beat high with enthusiasm ; and may those who have hitherto with indifference regarded the service of the army, from this moment pay it that tribute of respect which is the recompence of the soldier. May those young men who are devoted to the military life seriously consider its important duties, and seek to render themselves capable of commanding ; ever remembering, that, in the course of their service, the fame and lives of such soldiers must be hazarded to their judgment.

The right flank of the boats was protected by the *Cruelle* cutter, and the *Dangereuse* and *Janissary* gun vessels ; the left by the *Entreprenant* cutter, *Malta* schooner, and *Negresse* gun vessel ; on each flank were two launches of the fleet, armed to supply the place of the *Turkish* gun boats, which had separated on the passage. Sir *Sidney Smith*, with a detachment of seamen, had charge of the launches, which contained the field artillery. The alacrity and intrepidity of these men cannot be too highly estimated ;
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finding the horses useless, they drew the artillery on shore with ropes, in defiance of the *French* batteries, to the thunder of which they answered by shouts of exultation and triumph. The *Tartarus* and the *Pury* bomb-vessels were placed so as to cover with their fire, the landing; and the *Petterel*, *Camelion*, and *Minorca*, were moored with their broadsides to the shore. At nine o'clock the signal was made to advance. The boats sprung forward at the same instant, and the whole scene became animation. Two thousand *French*, posted on the top of the sand-hills, forming the concave arch of a circle on the front, of about a mile, (the centre of which elevated itself nearly a perpendicular height of 60 yards, apparently inaccessible,) looked down with wonder at the preparation, and have since confessed that they could not believe the attempt would even have been made; but when they saw the boats moving with extraordinary rapidity to the shore, and the armed vessels opening their guns, they no longer doubted the seriousness of the intention, and poured all the fire which their artillery on the heights (12 pieces) and the castle of Aboukir could discharge. The quantity of shot and shells, and the shower of grape and musquetry, seemed so to plow the surface of the water, that nothing on it could live; for a moment, it even compelled some of the boats rather to close upon the left; but the impulse returned with increased ardour, and, pressing through the storm, they forced to the beach. Leaping out of the boats on the shore, the reserve formed as they advanced: the 23d and 40th rushed up the heights, never firing a shot, but charging with the bayonet

bayonet the two battalions which crowned it, till they carried the two *Nole* hills in the rear, which commanded the plain to the left, taking at the same time three pieces of cannon. The 42d regiment had landed, formed as on a parade, and mounted the position, notwithstanding the fire from two pieces of cannon and a battalion of infantry. Gaining the height, two hundred French dragoons attempted to charge them, but were as quickly repulsed.

The boats of the Guards had scarce felt the beach, and the men began to jump out, before the same body of cavalry, who had rallied behind the sand hills, charged upon them. This caused a momentary disorder; but the 58th regiment, formed on their right, checked the enemy, and gave time for the Guards to present a front, when the cavalry retreated with considerable loss. The 54th and Royals being in transport boats, did not reach the shore so soon as the others, but landed at the instant a column of 600 infantry was advancing with fixed bayonets, through a hollow, against the left flank of the Guards. The *French* hesitated, then firing a volley, retreated. This moment of exultation cannot be described!

Finding the *British* in full possession of the heights, and General *Coote* advancing with the Guards and his brigade, the enemy ran from all points of their position, but in the rear sand-hills maintained for about an hour and a half a scattered fire, when they were finally obliged to retreat, having lost 300 men, eight pieces of cannon, and many horses. The boats returned for the remainder of the army, which, by the great exertions of the navy, were all landed by the evening.

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Sir *Ralph*, impressed with the strongest feelings of gratitude and admiration, came on shore, and took up a position distant about three miles, with his right to the sea, and left on Lake *Maadie*; the gallant behaviour of the troops in this action gained from the Commander-in-Chief, the warmest praise, and it was with peculiar satisfaction he observed their conduct, marked equally by ardent bravery, coolness, regularity, and good order.

Major Generals *Coote*, *Ludlow*, and *Moore*, and Brigadier General *Oakes*, who led on the troops that effected the landing, and were engaged, received the thanks of Sir *Ralph Abercrombie*, for the able manner in which they conducted the whole operation.

The Commander-in-Chief acknowledged the effectual assistance he received from the navy on this occasion, in consequence of the judicious arrangement directed by Admiral Lord *Keith*. He requested his Lordship would communicate his best thanks to Capt. *Cochrane* of the *Ajax*, who superintended the disembarkation, as well as the officers and men employed under him in that service; and to the men employed in the gun-boats and armed launches, that covered the landing.

Sir *Sydney Smith*, the captains, officers, and men of the ships of war, who acted with the army on shore, likewise received Sir *Ralph Abercrombie's* thanks, for their activity in bringing up the field-artillery, and for the intrepidity and zeal with which they acquitted themselves of the whole service entrusted to them.

The loss of the *British* amounted to near 500 men, amongst whom were several gallant officers. *Regnier* asserts,

asserts, that the infantry laid down in the bottom of the boats, whilst the sailors, indifferent to the *French* artillery, rowed with vigour to the shore. What kind of boats would have allowed of such an extension? Is it possible to be ignorant of the necessity of troops, in all debarkations, wedging close together in an upright position; or how could 50 men be carried in each boat? Malignity should always thus defeat itself.

From a consideration of the enemy's strength, and an observation of the map, it must be pronounced that a landing in the face of such a position was nearly impracticable. The defence was strictly good, and the conquest one of those singular phenomena which occasionally occur to animate the brave with a confidence that brilliant exertions, supported by persevering courage, may surmount mathematical improbabilities, and snatch a victory where cold calculation would predict a certain defeat. Had Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* been alarmed at the formidable appearance of the position, it is much to be feared that his prudence, however just, would have involved himself and army in eternal and irretrievable obloquy.

After the action, the army employed itself in digging to find water; as Sir *Sidney* assured the troops that wherever date trees grew, water must be near. The Commander in Chief thus found himself relieved from an anxiety which might otherwise have determined him still to relinquish the enterprize. An *Arab* came to Sir *Sidney Smith*, and shewed him a well, which he said had been closed by him ever since
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the *French* landed. An act of friendship which augured favourably of the general disposition.

The commander of *Aboukir* castle refusing to surrender, the *Queen's* and 26th dismounted dragoons were ordered to blockade it. On the 9th of March the army advanced a short way, and were posted in three lines. On the 10th some skirmishing between the advanced posts took place.

On the same day Capt. *Marley*, with Capt. *Stuart* of the *Mondovi*, went in a boat up Lake *Maadie*, and landed on the canal of *Alexandria*, near to the isthmus, and ascending the height on which the citadel of the *British* entrenched camp was afterwards constructed, they discovered the rear of a column passing into the lines before *Alexandria*.

The necessary stores being on shore, a depot formed, and an hospital established on the beach, Sir *Ralph* moved the army on the 12th to *Mandora Tower*, about four miles, where it encamped in three lines; a body of *French* cavalry skirmishing the whole way with the advanced guard.

On the 13th the army marched to attack the *French*, who were posted on the ridge of heights which the *British* afterwards encamped on during the blockade of *Alexandria*. They had received a reinforcement, making their total force about six thousand men, of which six hundred were cavalry, with between twenty and thirty pieces of cannon: their position was on very commanding ground, the approach to which formed a fine glacis for the whole range of fire from their numerous artillery. As Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* determined to turn their right, (their left being refused)

fused] the *English* army marched in two lines and column of régiments from the left, the reserve covering the movement on the right, and keeping parallel with the first line. Captain *Hillyar* commanded the launches in the lake.

It had not advanced out of the wood of date trees, in front of *Mandora Tower*, before the enemy left the heights on which they had been formed, and moved down by their right, commencing a heavy fire on the 92d regiment, which formed the advanced guard of the left column. At the same time the cavalry, under the orders of General *Bron*, charged down a height on the 90th regiment, forming the advanced guard of the right column. This regiment firmly maintained its ground, and allowing the cavalry to approach, fired such a volley as completely altered their direction, soon compelling them to retreat with the greatest precipitation. A few of the dragoons, however, reaced the ranks, and were bayoneted in their attempt to break through. Colonel *Latour Maubourg* was himself desperately wounded, and the loss of the whole very great. The dicipline and steadiness of the 90th regiment were most honourable. Major General *Craddock* instantly formed his brigade, notwithstanding the heavy fire they were now under, with the most regular order and precision. "The conduct of the 92d had been no less meritorious. "Opposed to a tremendous fire, and suffering severely from the *French* line, they never receded an inch, but maintained the contest until the marines and the rest of the line came to their support; and yet these are the regiments which *Regnier* impudently accuses
of

of laying down their arms ! The army now formed in two lines ; the reserve continuing in column on the right, the Guards in rear of the line as a support to the centre, and General *Doyle's* brigade moving in the rear of the left in column. In this order they pushed on with the greatest vigour, preserving always the strictest regularity ; whilst the foreign brigade emulated the *British*.

The *French* kept up a constant fire of musquetry and artillery, but opposed a little afterwards in line. Had there been more cavalry with the army, the enemy must have lost all their artillery, and their retreat would probably have been cut off.

As the army advanced, the *French* were compelled to quit their position, and retreat into their own lines on the heights before *Alexandria* ; but before this could be wholly effected, *Dillon's* regiment, who had moved to the left, charged with the bayonet, and carried two guns placed on the canal of *Alexandria* ; turning them immediately against the enemy. Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* wishing to follow up his success, by carrying the important position the *French* had retired on, proceeded across the plain, ordering General *Hutchinson*, with the second line, to move forwards to the left, and secure a projecting rising ground ; General *Maure* was directed to the right, that both flanks might be assailed at the same time. The first line remained in the plain, rather to the right. *Hutchinson* advanced upon the green hill, and, occupying the whole of it, detached the 44th regiment in front to carry a bridge on the canal of *Alexandria*, which they immediately effected. The enemy now began to play

from all their field artillery and heavy ordnance.—General *Hutchinson's* column found some shelter from the inequalities of the ground, and the reserve was protected by the broken surface of the soil on the right. The centre, however, remained totally exposed. Whilst Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* reconnoitred, the army continued under the most destructive fire to which troops were ever exposed. No longer in danger, the *French* had only to load and fire. Aim was unnecessary, the bullets could not but do their office, and plunge into the lines. For several hours did the *English* remain suffering this exterminating fire, never betraying the least irresolution. If a word was heard, it contained only a wish to be led on to the attack.—

This action was highly creditable to the gallantry and discipline of the *British*, whose movements were executed with the steadiness and accuracy of a review. The conduct, exertions, and animating example of the general officers were never exceeded; and when it is remembered, that the guns were dragged by sailors through a deep and burning sand, the rapidity of their movements and their success is highly meritorious.

The loss of the *English* in this encounter, amounted to 1100 men killed and wounded. The *French* did not suffer so much, though above 500 of them were put hors de combat. Four field pieces were also taken, and a great quantity of ammunition. Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* had a horse shot in the action.

After the engagement, the following letter of thanks was issued by the Commander in Chief, dated :

Camp,

Camp, four miles from Alexandria,

March 14, 1801.

The Commander-in-Chief has the greatest satisfaction in thanking the troops for their soldier-like and intrepid conduct in the action of yesterday; he feels it incumbent on him particularly to express his most perfect satisfaction with the steady and gallant conduct of Major General *Craddock's* brigade. And he desires that Major General *Craddock* will assure the officers and men of the 90th regiment, that their meritorious conduct commands his admiration. To the 92d, and regiment of *Dillon*, an equal share of praise is due; and when it has been so well earned, the Commander-in-Chief has the greatest pleasure in bestowing it.

Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* desires, that Lieutenant Colonel *Smith* and the battalion of marines will accept his thanks, for their conduct in the course of the service of yesterday at the request of Lord *Kwib*; that corps will march this afternoon to *Abouls*, and will place themselves under the command of Colonel the Earl of *Dalhousie*."

The position now occupied by the *British* was by nature strong; the right projected a quarter of a mile, on very high ground, and extended to the large and magnificent ruins of a palace, built in the time of the *Romans*, within fifty yards of the sea. The breadth of this promontory of sand hills and old ruins was not more than three hundred yards, and it gradually sloped down; an intermediate valley of equal distance lay between it and the receding sand hills, which formed the rest of the position, excepting that near the canal of *Alexandria* was level ground. The front of the

the position, from the right of the ground on which the Guards were encamped, formed an oblique line to the left. On the extreme point of the left, and about a quarter of a mile on the canal, two batteries were ordered to be constructed. Lake *Maadie* protected the rear of the left, by flowing close to the canal: the extent from the sea to the lake was about a mile. In front of the right was a continuation of uneven ground. Before the centre a slope descended into the plain, which commenced in front of the left, and extended as far as the *French* position. The ground was covered with large stones and ruins, the scite of the whole having been originally that of a *Roman* colony.

On the projecting ground of the right were posted the 58th and 28th regiments, which defended the ruins and redoubts; these were supported by the 23d regiment, the 42d, 40th, and *Corfioun Rangers*. In the interval and flat, between those heights and the right of the centre, were the cavalry of reserve, then the Guards on the hill. On the left were the Royals, 92d, 2d, 54th, and 64th; then the 8th, 18th, 90th, 13th, also in echelon to their right brigade. At right angles, with their left thrown back facing the lake, and to protect the canal, were the 27th, 99th, and 56th posted. The second line was formed from the right, by the *Minorca*, *De Rolle's*, *Dillon's*, the *Queen's*, 44th, 89th, 30th; the dismounted cavalry of the 12th dragoons, and then the mounted part of this regiment, and the 26th. The marines and 92d had marched to *Aboukir*, and the *Queen's* replaced them. On the right, and within a hundred and fifty yards

yards of the shore, were stationed four cutters. The fleet cruized constantly off *Alexandria*.

The *French* position was parallel, but more formidable. A very high, and almost perpendicular ridge of hills extended from the sea near to the canal of *Alexandria*, where, gradually sloping to its level, they formed the main position of this front: but in advance of their right they occupied a tongue of land, which projected a mile parallel to the canal of *Alexandria*, and which obliged the *English* advanced posts to be thrown back so as to form an obtuse angle. In the centre of the principal line rose *Fort Cretin*, in the left of its rear appeared *Fort Caffarelli*, *Pompey's Pillar* on its right, *Cleopatra's Needle* on the left, and the city of *Alexandria* extending into the sea, and at the extremity of a long neck of land the *Pharos*. At the back of the town, the masts of the shipping in the western harbour were visible. In the eastern harbour, formed by the *Pharos*, and some rocks, on one of which is built a tower, called the *Pharillon*, were two or three poleacres and gun-boats. The whole presented the most interesting appearance, in an historical as well as military point of view. Wherever the eye could measure, objects of the greatest character attracted its attention, and the very ruins under the feet were sacred from their antiquity.

About this time, an unadvised expedition, though conducted with signal bravery, was undertaken, by a small detachment under Colonel *Archdale*, against a body of 150 men, commanded by General *D'Essin*. As the *English* numbered only 80, they were obliged to retire, after a warm engagement, in which their spirited

spirited leader unfortunately lost his arm. The same day, the death of Colonel *Brice* of the Guards, who, having missed his way, on the night he had been field officer on duty, had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was announced by the return of a flag of truce. Wandering into the *French* line of posts, he was attacked, severely wounded, and robbed. Nothing of moment occurred otherwise in the army, which was employed in constructing batteries, bringing up guns, forming a depot of heavy artillery and ammunition, procuring fuel, water and provisions and erecting tents. Hitherto the troops had enjoyed no covering but their blankets or great coats, although the nights were intensely cold, and the damp exhalations of the ground piercingly chilling. To the revival in some measure of the spirits of the *English*, *Aboukir* castle now surrendered, and the *Captain Boy*, with two sail of the line, and several frigates and small *Turkish* vessels, having on board the remainder of the cavalry, arrived.

Aboukir castle is considered as a most wretched place, the rooms being absolute dungeons. Twelve guns, and abundance of ammunition, were found in the fort; the garrison amounted to 100 men.

On the 19th the supply in the market failed, from the advance of General *Menou*, whose party had killed several *Arabs* bringing sheep.

On the 20th a column of infantry and cavalry was perceived passing into *Alexandria*; and an *Arab* chief sent in a letter to Sir *Sydney Smith*, acquainting him of the arrival of General *Menou* with a large army, whose intention it was to surprise and attack the
British

British camp the next morning; but much confidence was not placed in the communication at head-quarters. Sir, *Saïney*, however, was convinced of the honesty and truth of the information; and assured his friends of the event taking place.

The position of the army was now strengthened by a battery not closed in the rear; erected a little in front, and to the left of the ruins of *Ptolemy's Palace*, from whence the space to the sea was open. In front of the right of the *Guards* was a redoubt; on their left a large battery, where the signal staff was hoisted; on the left of the line a redoubt, and on the canal of *Alexandria* two works. On the whole line were 18 *24* pounders, and 34 field pieces.

On the 31st of March, the army, as usual, was under arms at three o'clock in the morning. All was quiet till half past three o'clock, when the report of a musket was heard at the extremity of *the left*; instantly afterwards a cannon fired, scattered musquetry succeeded, and then two more guns. Attention was for a moment directed to that quarter, convinced that a general attack was commencing: but it was immediately evident that the firing was too feeble to believe that to be the point of the enemy's serious object. General *Moore*, who, as general officer of the night, on the first alarm proceeded to the left, was so impressed with this idea, that he turned back to the right.

For a few minutes all was still; the awful suspense of anxious expectation, not of apprehension. Every eye painfully extended forwards through the gloomy mist of the atmosphere, and the ears strained to catch the

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the smallest sound. Occasionally the eastern horizon was anxiously regarded ; but though the grey of the morning became perceptible, it seemed reluctantly to break. On a sudden, loud shouts were heard in front of the right ; a roar of musquetry immediately succeeded, and the action there became general.

Covered by the unequal surface of the ground, the enemy had advanced unperceived as far as the videttes, and continued to press on to the main position with all possible celerity : one column directed its march on the ruins where the 58th were posted, the front of which was much more extensive than that of the regiment ; some parts, however, of the wall remaining, the regiment divided, but could not even then fill up all the different intervals. Colonel *Houston*, who commanded, faintly perceived the enemy, who advanced with drums beating, and huzzas ; but fearing to fire on the *English* piquets, he allowed it to approach so close that the glazed hats were clearly distinguished, when he ordered the grenadiers to fire, which was followed by the whole regiment, and repeated with several rounds. These discharges quickly made the enemy retire into a hollow some distance in their rear, from whence they shortly afterwards wheeled to the right, and endeavoured to force round the redoubt in front of their left, with another column, directing its march upon the battery. The 28th regiment stationed there opened a heavy fire on those who attempted to storm the redoubt in front ; but the main body of the two columns, now joined to a third, forced in behind the redoubt, and whilst some remained to attack it thus in the rear, the rest penetrated

ted into the ruins. Colonel *Crowdjye*, who commanded the left of the 58th, observing their advance, wheeled back two companies, and after two or three rounds of fire, advanced on the enemy with the bayonet. At this moment the 23d regiment appeared, and the 42d also advancing on the exterior side of the ruins to cover the opening on the left of the redoubt, cut off the troops which had entered, and after a severe loss obliged them to surrender. The 28th regiment had presented, as well as the 58th, the extraordinary spectacle of troops fighting at the same time to the front, flanks, and rear. Thus surrounded, the 28th regiment remained fixed to the platform of the parapet, and continued a contest before unexampled. Colonel *Chambers* had the honour of commanding, Colonel *Paget* having been wounded at the commencement of the action. The advance of the 42d relieved the 28th from this unequal attack; but as that regiment approached the right of the redoubt, the first line of the enemy's cavalry, passing by the left of the redoubt, charged *en masse*, and overwhelmed the 42d, yet, though broken, this gallant corps individually resisted, and the conduct of each man exalted still more the high character of the regiment. Colonel *Spencer*, who had taken his station in the intervals of the ruins, was for some seconds afraid to order his men to fire, lest he should destroy the 42d, so intermixed with the enemy. But the cavalry passing on, and directing itself against that interval, he was obliged to command the firing, which stopped the advance; yet this force must instantly have been overpowered, if General *Stuart*, with the foreign brigade

from the second line, had not advanced in the most perfect order, and poured in such a heavy and well directed fire, that the enemy fled or perished. It was in this charge of the cavalry that the gallant Sir *Ralph Abercrombie*, anxious to be the most forward in danger, received his mortal wound. He had mounted his horse, and finding the right was seriously engaged, proceeded thither. Coming near the ruins, he dispatched his aids de camp with orders to different brigades, when some dragoons of the *French* penetrated to the spot, and he was thrown from his horse. One of them, supposed to be an officer, rode at him, and attempted to cut him down ; but natural heroism, and the energy of the moment so invigorated the veteran general, that he seized the sword, and wrested it from his antagonist : at that instant, the officer was bayoneted by a soldier of the 42d. Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* did not know the moment of his receiving the wound in his thigh, but complained severely of a contusion in his breast, supposed to have been inflicted by the hilt of the sword in the scuffle. Sir *Sydney Smith* was the first officer who came to him ; he had broke his own sword, which Sir *Ralph* observing, he instantly presented to him the one he had so gloriously acquired. This sword Sir *Sydney Smith* means to place on his monument.

A singular circumstance happened almost immediately afterwards. Major *Hall*, aid de camp to General *Craddock*, whilst going with orders, had his horse killed. Seeing Sir *Sydney*, he begged to mount his orderly man's horse. As Sir *Sydney* was turning round to bid him give it to Major *Hall*, a cannon ball struck off

off the dragoon's head. "This," exclaimed Sir *Sydney*, "is destiny. The horse, Major *Hall*, is your's."

As the cavalry was by this time repulsed, Sir *Ralph* walked to the right of the redoubt of the Guards, whence he commanded a view of the whole field of battle. The *French*, though driven out of the camp, by no means gave up the contest on the right. A second charge of cavalry by their reserve, against the foreign brigade, completely failed. After this, their infantry did not keep any longer in a body.

The ammunition of the *English* being totally exhausted, the regiments of the reserve were obliged to remain without firing a shot; and for a time, there was only one cartouch for the guns in the battery.—Whilst such was the contest on the right, the attack on the centre had continued. As day dawned, a column of grenadiers had advanced, supported by a heavy line of infantry, to this part of the position.—The Guards posted there threw out their flankers to oppose them, but they being soon driven in, General *Ludlow* directed the brigade to fire. Seeing the echelon formation, the *French* had proceeded to turn the left flank of the Guards, but these instantly wheeling back, checked their movement, and the advance of General *Coote* compelled them to retreat. They then dispersed as sharp shooters, and kept up a very destructive fire, at the same time that their cannon played incessantly. The left of the *British* was never seriously engaged, being only exposed to partial musquetry, and distant cannonade. During the want of ammunition amongst the *British*, the right of the enemy attempted to approach again close to the redoubt;
and

and some of them having also exhausted their own means, absolutely pelted stones from the ditch at the 28th, who returned those unusual, yet not altogether harmless instruments of violence : but the grenadier company of the 40th moving out, the assailants ran away, the sharp shooters left the hollows they were covered by, and the battalion evacuated the *flèche*.

General *Menou* perceiving the total failure of his movements, and that the *British* had suffered no impression which might justify the hopes of eventual success, determined on a retreat. The action ended at about ten o'clock in the morning of March 21, after a most obstinate conflict of six hours. There was such a want of ammunition on the part of the *English*, that his lines retired in very good order, under the heights of their position. The cannon, however, on the left, did much execution, and also the king's cutters on the right, which had gallantly remained in their station, although exposed to a body of the enemy within half musquet shot, expressly firing at them, with the advantage of a considerable elevation. A corps of cavalry, posted at the bridge on the canal of *Alexandria*, to protect the right flanks of their lines, and prevent a movement from the *British* left, deserves mention for the steadiness with which it maintained its ground, though the shot plunged constantly into the ranks. "It was not," continues Sir *Robert Wilson*, "till the defeat of the *French* was thus absolutely assured, that Sir *Ralph Abercrombie*, who had remained in the battery, where several times he had nearly been killed by cannon shot, could be prevailed to quit the field.

“ He had continued walking about, paying no attention to his wound, only occasionally complaining of a pain in his breast from the contusion. Officers who went to him in the course of the action, returned without knowing from his manner or appearance, that he had been wounded, and many only ascertained it by seeing the blood trickling down his clothes. At last his spirit, when exertion was no longer necessary, yielded to nature : he became faint, was placed in a hammock, and borne to the depot, cheered by the feeling expressions and blessings of the soldiers as he passed : he was then put into a boat, accompanied by his aid de camp and esteemed friend, Sir *Thomas Dyer*, and carried to Lord *Keith's* ship.

“ Attention was now directed to those miserably wounded men who were left on the field of battle ; and the spectacle, from the contractedness of the ground of action, was really horrible. Those who have never seen such a sight, must not suppose that the effect of this scene altogether consists in the groans and lamentations of the dying : no, it is the gallant resolution with which these acute and terrible sufferings are borne ; the energy of the soul, subduing the violence of bodily pain ; the character of the soldier supported in these last moments, which excite the feelings, and annihilate the rage of hostility !”

On the ground were found about 1700 *French* killed or wounded, 1040 of whom were buried in the course of two days in the field of battle. The enemy's loss appears to have been very considerable indeed, but the number, including the prisoners, at the fairest estimation,

tion, amounted to about 400 men, amongst which were most of their principal officers, killed or wounded.

Four hundred horses were also lying on the field, most of them on the left of the ruins. "In this battle the *French* standard was taken. Serjeant *Sinclair*, of the 42d regiment, and a private of the *Minorca*, whose name unfortunately cannot now be acquired, claimed equally the trophy, and it appears that each merited the honour; Serjeant *Sinclair* first took it, but being ordered forwards by an officer, he gave it to a private, who was killed. When the *Minorca* advanced, the *French* had recovered the colours; but the private wrested them from the man who had possession, and then bayoneted him.

The loss of the *English* consisted of six officers and 233 men killed; wounded, 60 officers, 1190 men; three officers, 29 men missing. The *English* tents were torn to pieces by the shot, and thousands of brass cannon balls were glistening in the sand. Several servants had been killed in the tents, and numerous miraculous escapes of the sick lying in them might be related.

To the exertions and intrepidity of General *Moore* must be particularly ascribed the success of this glorious day. Though wounded early in the action through the leg, he refused to quit the field. Brigadier General *Oakes*, also severely wounded early in the morning, remained throughout the action. The spirited movement of General *Stewart* decided the engagement. To Colonel *Spencer*, General *Ludlow*, and General *Coote*, the army was like essentially indebted. Sir *Sidney Smith*,
though

though wounded early, was constantly in the hottest fire ; and the captains of the navy on shore, aided by some seamen, rendered very important assistance, in commanding the artillery in the great battery, and distributing ammunition to the troops. Surrounded, partly broken, destitute of ammunition, still to continue a contest, and remain conquerors, must reflect eternal honour on the army capable of such exertions, and cannot but excite the admiration of all military characters. The *British* service has not merely to pride itself on this day for the battle gained ;—it must lay the foundation of future glory, and, if its details are justly impressed, produce firmness, confidence, and success.

General *Regnier* is for once accurate, when he asserts that the battle was fought by the right of the *English* army only ; “ and he thus entangles himself,” continues Sir *Robert Wilson*, “ in bestowing praise where he meant to traduce. The *French* army, according to his account, was nine thousand seven hundred men strong, including fifteen hundred cavalry, with forty-six pieces of cannon. The *British* force, reduced by their losses in the actions of the 8th and 13th, by the men taken away for the care of the wounded, by the absence of the 92d regiment, the marines, and 26th dismounted dragoons, at *Aboukir*, did not yield an effective strength of ten thousand men, including three hundred cavalry. The half of that number resisted the concentrated attack of the *French* army, exclusive of eight hundred men on its right, and by their own immediate valour and exertions, gained the battle.”

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The following orders were issued from the *Head Quarters*, 24th March 1801 : General *Hutchinson* has received instructions from the Commander in Chief to thank the whole of their troops for their conspicuous and brilliant conduct in the action of the 21st instant ; a conduct, which has dismayed an insolent enemy, has raised the glory of their country, and established their reputation for ever. To Major General *Moore*, Brigadier General *Oakes*, and reserve, no acknowledgments are sufficient. Major General *Moore* has considerably added to the essential service he has already rendered to the army ; and the Commander in Chief hopes, that both he and Brigadier General *Oakes* will soon be enabled to resume their situations, which they have sustained so honourably to themselves, and so usefully to the public.

The 28th and 42d regiments made the noblest stand against a superior force. Colonel *Paget* is entitled to the highest degree of applause. The support given to the reserve by Brigadier General *Stuart*, of the 5th brigade, was as gallant as it was prompt, and entirely confirmed the fortunate issue of that brilliant day. Major General *Ludlow*, and the brigade of Guards, will also accept the thanks of the General, for the cool, steady, and soldier-like manner, in which they repulsed the attack of the enemy's column.

Major General *Hutchinson* has sincerely to regret, that a wound, though not dangerous, has deprived the army, for a moment; of the presence of their Commander in Chief, who, in all the different actions, was the first to lead them to danger and glory.

The army will judge of the feelings of General
Hutchinson

Hutchinson by their own. It will, however, considerably diminish their regret, when they are informed, that the superintending care of the Commander in Chief still watches over them, and that the most sanguine hopes are entertained, that he will soon be restored to perfect health, and resume those functions which he has already exercised in a manner which entitles him to the gratitude of his country, and to the admiration of those gallant men whom he has had the good fortune to command. The army has been deprived of the temporary services of Brigadier General *Hope*, by a wound which he received in the late action. The General regrets much the absence of that gallant, judicious, and excellent officer."

But, notwithstanding the importance of this victory, the fate of *Egypt* was by no means decided. Not an inch of territory was acquired; the *French* still retained their position, with an army considerably more numerous than the *British* in the country. Yet, one immediate benefit resulting, independent of the confidence it inspired in the troops, was the impression made on the inhabitants and *Bedouin Arabs*, thousands of whom had witnessed the battle; so that the market was immediately supplied with every article, and a direct communication established with the interior. Still the army was, however, obliged to live on salt pork, as the troops would not trust to the supply of fresh meat, and the commissary dared not undertake it. Duties were, in the mean time, severe. By night the outposts were strong, and the whole laid with their accoutrements on, turning out at three o'clock in the morning. The day was occupied in bringing

the provisions from the depôt, dragging guns, ammunition, wood, &c. and this necessarily by men's labour: the camp was regularly fortifying, and batteries and lines raising wherever they could add to its strength.

On the 23d, propositions were made to the *French* for the evacuation of *Egypt*, which was petemptonily rejected. On the 25th, the Captain *Pacha*, with 6000 men arrived in *Aboukir Bay*, and soon after landed, and encamped a short distance from the beach. Near them lay the remains of 4000 of their countrymen, who perished two years before; the corruption of that field of battle was still intolerable. Almost wherever a horse trod, the impression of the hoof laid bare some corpse with the clothes on. A small detachment of sailors from the fleet, took possession (after the exchange of a few shot) of the caravansera commanding the entrance into *Lake Edko*. On the following morning, the boats from the *Tygre* went up the channel to the village of *Edko*, where they were received with every testimony of joy by the inhabitants, who expressed in the bitterest terms their abhorrence of the *French*. It seems this rooted aversion had its origin in the conduct of the *French* at their first landing. —*Buonaparte*, in his dispatches to the Directory, mentions this little village. He says, "having given orders for the reduction of this place, it was assaulted accordingly;" he then proceeds to applaud the conduct of the troops to the highest pitch. We have, however, to observe, that this village has not even the mud-wall that surrounds most of the villages of *Egypt*, and as a proof of the resistance made, one hundred
and

and fifty men, women, and children, were put to the sword, and not a *Frenchman* was hurt.

On the morning of the 29th, the death of Sir *Ralph Abercrombie* was made known to the army. His loss was a severe one; he was beloved by the troops for his kindness and attention to their welfare; and his courage was their pride and example; his age, combined with his services, exertions and manners, rendered him an object of enthusiastic admiration.

The command of the army now devolved on General *Hutchinson*, who, anxious to maintain the character of the army, resolved on offensive operations, in order to harass the enemy, and ameliorate the condition of the troops. Accordingly, part of the army, under the command of Colonel *Spencer*, with the addition of 4000 *Turks*, was detached to *Rosetta*, before which they arrived after a painful march across the desert on the 8th of April. From various circumstances, however, the *English* did not open their batteries until the 16th, when a heavy cannonading commenced, and continued until the 19th, when the garrison capitulated, after a very honourable defence. General *Coot*e was left in command of the army before *Alexandria*, and General *Hutchinson*, with his staff, arrived in *Rosetta* on the 26th.

About this time there arrived a messenger from *Morad Bey*, with assurances of his joining General *Hutchinson*, if the army advanced towards *Cairo*. In a letter to Sir *Sydney Smith*, *Morad* shews much detestation against the *French*, and adds, "How can I be attached to the *French*? Have they not deprived me of my sovereignty, my honour, and my revenue? It

is on the *English* Faith alone I can depend." Advice was soon after received of the death of *Morad Bey*. While descending the *Nile*, in order to join the *English*, he was seized by the plague, and it is said, expired in the course of three days. On his death bed, he charged his successor, *Osman Bey Tambourgi*, to attach himself to the *English*. His attachment to the *French* was that of necessity, it was an alliance at which his pride and religion equally revolted.

The following is related as the course of his personal inveteracy against them. Some *French* officers of rank assembled at the house of Madam *Morad Bey*, the widow of the great *Ali Bey*, who entertained them with all the hospitality she could possibly manifest; and as they retired, presented the young *Beauharnois* with a ring of considerable value. A few days afterwards a contribution was laid on her property, far greater than her proportion had previously been fixed at, and much beyond her means to pay. On complaint being made, she received for answer, "that as it was understood she still possessed very costly ornaments, no mitigation could be pleaded." This exaction then appeared to be founded on the present she had so generously given to the relative of *Bonaparte*, with the motive of shewing honour to that general.—As such, it was considered as the grossest breach of faith and hospitality; nor could *Morad Bey* ever speak of the transaction without the bitterest expressions of indignation.

He was so much esteemed by the *Beys* and *Mamlukes*, that when they buried him, they broke his
sabre

labre into his grave, thereby declaring, that no one was worthy to wear his arms.

The effective force now assembled at *El Hamed*, amounted to between 4000 and 5000, but the want of horses to draw the cannon, and of camels to carry provisions and water, presented serious disadvantages. On the 4th of May, the 89th regiment, and part of the 12th dragoons, with 1200 *Arnauts*, under Colonel *Stewart*, crossed the *Nile*, in order to conform to the movements of the main army. On the following day, the army marched in two columns, one passing along the banks of the *Nile*, the other along the shore of *Lake Edko*. The *Turkish* army preceded amounting to about 4000 men, under the command of *Caia Bey*. With this force moved 12 field pieces, and 8 *Turkish*. Captains *Stevenson*, *Corry*, and *Morris* had the command of the *Turkish* gun vessels, and *English* armed galleys, which sailed at the same time, and the transport galleys following after. The army halted in the rear of the canal of *Deroute*, where they encamped in two lines. Here advices being received of the advanced guard of the *Grand Vizier's* army having taken possession of *Belbeis*, with the assurance that 2000 cavalry, which he had detached, would arrive about this time in the *English* camp, General *Hutchinson* determined to await their junction, particularly as the left of the *French* position appeared favourable for cavalry operations.

On the 7th the *Turkish* patrols along the *Nile*, discovered the enemy had quitted *El-Ast*, the *English* immediately entered it. In the evening Colonel *Stewart* moved to *Surasa*, where the first accurate statement of the

the force opposed was obtained; it amounted to 3331 men, exclusive of 600 cavalry. At length the *Turkish* cavalry arrived, but not as was expected, their number did not amount to 600 men. They were principally *Syrians*, almost naked, nearly without arms, miserably mounted, and totally undisciplined. The Captain Pacha was particularly mortified at their default, they were not, however, refused.

On the morning of the 9th, the army marched to wards *Rahmanieh*, Colonel *Stewart*, moving at the same time towards *Dessoug*. An engagement soon afterwards ensued, in which the *Turkish* and *English* gun boats maintained an incessant cannonade, though there was at first an universal failure of wind. The attack was continued through the whole of the succeeding day; and on the following morning a white flag was perceived on the fort, while an officer, carrying one in a boat, passed down the *Nile*. At length he reached the General, to whom he offered to surrender the fort at discretion, which was accepted, and preservation of private property accorded to the garrison. By the bold movement of the 89th, on the preceding day, and which must ever reflect the highest credit on Colonel *Stewart*, Lord *Blayney*, Captain *Ayde*, and the corps, the *French* germen, above 70 in number, had been forced back into the harbour while endeavouring to escape, and one gun boat sunk: the 39th, notwithstanding the constant discharges of grape, marched steadily on to the dyke running parallel to the *Nile*, behind which Colonel *Stewart* directed them to lay down; while Captain *Ayde*, placing his guns on the most eligible points, continued,
exposed

exposed as he was, contending with a superior weight of metal; and the covered batteries. The *Turks*, who had contemplated this advance, could with difficulty express their admiration of such conduct. "*Bono John!*" was vociferated, whenever an officer crossed over from the western bank; and "*Tieb*" with the thumb raised, was re-echoed by the *Arabs*. *Tieb* implies excellent: *John* was the appellation constantly given by the *Turks* to an *Englishman*, who added *bono*, supposing it to be the *English* interpretation for their word signifying good.

In the affair of *Rahmanieh*, excepting four officers, the loss of the *British* was trifling; but the *Turks* suffered more considerably. The garrison marched out to the number of 110, commanded by a chief de brigade, having lost about 100 men: neither the officers, who dined in the camp, (and among whom General Doyle discovered one who had served against him in *America*) nor their men, seemed at all to regret their destiny. The force of the enemy, the greater part of which escaped previous to the surrender, had been augmented by the troops from *Alexandria*; and their number amounted to 4000 infantry, and 800 cavalry, possessing 33 field pieces. Including the corps in the *Delta*, the *British* force was under 4000, and many of those were impaired by sickness; while the *Turks*, including those under Colonel *Stewart*, though numbering 500 men, could not be rated from their want of discipline, as equal to more than 1500 Europeans.

Having deeply investigated the circumstances of his present situation, General *Hutcheson* resolved to pursue his successes. The intrenched camp of *Rahmanieh*

niah being resigned to the *Turks*, who stationed a garrison of 300 in the fort, and the captured getms mutually divided between the two armies. On the morning of May 11th, the whole army advanced through a fine corn country, as far as *Shibragite* on the banks of the *Nile*, about twelve miles from *Rahmanieh*; and on the following morning they marched to *Kassa*, *Haudia*, from whence Major *Wilson* was sent with the dispatches to the Grand Vizier, wishing him not to risk a battle, if possible, until he could ensure a mutual co-operation with the *English*. Major *Wilson*, however, arrived too late, as the *Turkish* camp was already in movement; and such was the discontented state of the army, that the Grand Vizier was afraid to countermand his orders; lest they should disband in despondence and disgust.

The *British* army, continuing their march, fell in with a valuable convoy from *Cairo*, containing all kinds of necessaries, several heavy guns intended for the defence of Alexandria, and about 500*l*. in specie. General *Doyle*, with Major *Wilson*, Colonel *Abercrombie*, and a small detachment pursued them. By great exertions they soon came up with them, when terms were offered to the Colonel Commandant for the surrender of the whole, which was at length agreed to. In a field adjoining the head quarters, the *French* troops grounded their arms. They numbered 560, including 120 of the dromedary corps, which were the picked men of the army; one four pounder, 550 Camels were also taken. The capture of these Camels relieved the army from much of its severe duty, besides ensuring a more certain supply of water.

At

At this time intelligence arrived from the *Grand Vizier*, stating that he had defeated the *French*, and that the garrison of *Fort Lesbie*, near *Damietta*, had escaped to *Bourlos*. In this affair, which lasted seven hours, the *French* lost 300 men, killed and wounded, which, considering the quantity of firing, must be rated inconsiderable; it, however, discomfited their projects, elevated the spirit of the *Turks*, and inspired confidence among their friends in *Cairo* and the country.

The battle of *Elhanka* relieved General *Hutchinson* from his anxiety, and secured a freedom of operations. Colonel *Stewart* advanced to *Menouf*, on the 18th, and on the 21st reached *Beauchamp*. General *Hutchinson* had now an interview with the *Grand Vizier*, who evinced to him every token of respect and regard; and it was here that he received the intelligence of the enemy having retired from *Forts Lesbie* and *Bourlos*, and being afterwards captured in the vessels on board which they had embarked.

The army had advanced to *Mishlie*, on the 3d of June, and were visited by *Osman Bey Tambourgi*, the successor of *Morad Bey*. The General now beheld the two objects of his march accomplished, his union with the *Turks*, and junction of the *Mamelukes*, who secured the country, and left the *French* destitute of resource.

On the 4th of June, the army took a position, front and rear of *Loekmas*, but marched again the next day. By successive marches they arrived at *Giza*, on the 14th, from which an officer and some *Mamelukes* were sent to patrol. Captains *Murray* and *Lutchkins*, of the 11th dragoons, passing through the desert, reached the heights of *Makattan*, advancing even as far as the

old mosque, immediately above the citadel, where the *French* attempted to cut them off, but did not succeed. This patrol was very creditable to the party employed, and beneficial, from the information it obtained.

June 17th, the General, and the Captain *Pacha* went as far as *Dockee*, to reconnoitre. On the 19th, orders were given to the army to march across the *Nile*, but was countermanded, as the possession of *Giza* was considered as necessary for the complete investment of *Cairo*.

On the morning of the 21st of June, the English army advanced within a mile and a half of *Giza*, with their left on *Dockee*, and the right on *Zaneen*. The *Turks* encamped in two lines, threw forward their right to *Tahourmis*, and the *Mamelukes* were posted in the rear. Some *Mamelukes*, who had advanced under *Osman Bey*, *Hassan*, and *Mahommed Bey Elfi*, attacked the enemy's post of Cavalry, in front of *Giza*, pursuing within one hundred and fifty yards of the works of the place: and although the *French* fired sharply with their cannon at them, killing and wounding several horses, they retired again in perfect order. If not brilliant, from the loss of this enemy, the affair was still honourable to the *Mamelukes*, and their occupation of *Sackul-michle*, a village within 300 yards of *Giza*, immediately afterwards, merited the highest commendation.

Captain *Brice* having reported that from a wood in front of this village, the attack upon *Giza* and the bridge should be made, an *English* officer, with 500 *Arnauts*, were at night detached to occupy it. The silence preserved during the march, and the regularity with which they took up the several posts, gave a strong proof of their improved discipline. The highest credit

credit must be given to Colonel *Linderthal*, from the first movement at *Elhamed*: since the arrangements he made, and the incessant attention he paid to their improvement, combined with the anxious support of the Capitan Pacha, had produced this almost incredible change in the wildest of men.

Night and day the greatest exertions were made to drag up the heavy cannon and requisite ammunition, the depôt of which was formed at *Talbia*.—Whilst the arrival of the 42d and 28th regiments from *Alexandria*, under General *Hope*, diffused new spirits, General *Moore* also joined, whose presence alone was esteemed a valuable reinforcement.

On the 22d of June, in the morning early, a *French* officer from *Giza*, with a flag of truce, was brought in to the General by Captain *Taylor*. He came from General *Belliard*, to require that an *English* officer might be sent to a conference. As the matter to be discussed was of the highest importance, General *Hope* was named; who met a *French* Colonel of engineers near *Giza*, and staid with him a long time. The next morning, by agreement, General *Moran* and General *Hope* met under the trees near *Giza*. Three tents were pitched for them and their attendants; a guard of honour, composed of grenadiers and cavalry, attending each.

Belliard had proposed that each party should have an armed escort; but General *Hutchinson* answered, that between the troops of civilized nations such a precaution could not be necessary; a reply which handsomely maintained the dignity of his allies. Never, in the presence of such an army, composed of the troops of so many

many nations, on such remarkable ground, on a more important subject, had a military council been convened.

General *Moran* declared, that the object of his instructions was the evacuation of *Cairo*, and the return of the garrison to *France*: to arrange which, *Isaac Bey*, on the part of the Capitan Pacha, *Mahammed Pacha*, for the *Vizir*, and *Osman Bey* for the *Mamlukes*, were appointed; and on the part of the *French*, General *Donzelot* and Colonel *Tarayre*, Captain *Taylor* officiated as secretary, On the 24th the line of demarcation was settled, and on the 26th the definitive articles were agreed to. The *French* had demanded two millions of livres from the *Turks*, for the payment of their debts in *Cairo*, and as the balance of revenue due to them from *Egypt*: but this claim General *Hope* positively refused to discuss; and the *Turkish* deputies represented, that, on the contrary, they must demand a greater sum for the ships seized in *Alexandria* at the infraction of the convention of *El-Arish*, and for the purses advanced to General *Kleber* on the faith of that treaty. An arrangement, not made public, was stipulated, that the *French* troops, embarked in men of war, were to give up their arms to the custody of the captain during the passage. The *Turks* made so much opposition to Madame *Menou's* leaving *Egypt*, that the General was obliged decidedly to assure them he would protect her person.

The capitulation of *Cairo* crowned the daring march which General *Hutchinson* had planned, and in which he had resolutely persevered. Its conquest secured
Egypt,

Egypt, and, without improbable misfortunes, the speedy fall of *Alexandria*.

The General now issued orders, thanking the army for that conduct which had so much distinguished it.—Certainly no troops had ever shewn more resolution, patience, and spirit. The duty of the officers and men had been most severe, yet they bore every hardship without a murmur; and although four months of arrears of pay, never were guilty of the smallest excess. Dysentery and blindness had made great ravages amongst them, and they had no shelter from the burning heat of the sun: their tents opposed no resistance to the rays, but rather concentrated their force. Frequently they were obliged to drink only water, and wanting shoes, had to tread on the fiery sand, and on the prickly furzes which covered the surface.

All the departments of the army had exerted their utmost zeal, and that of the Quarter Master General in particular bore the hardest service. Every day, when the army, after its march, reposed, these officers were obliged to proceed in front, and reconnoitre the next encampment, frequently till night, never tasting the smallest refreshment. Colonel *Anstruther* himself set the example, being always the first man on his horse, and the last to take rest. Captain *Marley*, as the only officer with Colonel *Stewart's* column, had great severity of duty, and as zealously exerted himself; whilst the officers of the army in general were animated by the same spirit, and no one quitted but in a state that would have rendered it certain death to have remained, and many risked too much. This is not fulsome adulation, but truth.

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Ross, of the 79th regiment, having lost his arm in the action of the 21st, refused to go to *England*, but as soon as he was nearly recovered, joined his regiment again at *Rhamanieh*. Such anecdotes, honourable to the service, as well as to the individuals, demand mention.

During the night of the 10th July, the *French* evacuated *Cairo*, and on the 15th quitted *Giza*, and, with the allied army, began their march for *Rosetta*, the Nile was covered with germs, the *French* alone using 300 for their sick and baggage. General *Hutchinson*, however, remained at *Cairo*, wishing to settle the arrangements for the government of *Egypt*, and reinstate the *Mamlukes*, as he was by treaty bound to effect. General *Craddock* being extremely unwell, was obliged to stop at *Giza*, and the command of the army devolved on General *Moore*.

General *Hutchinson* having secured the execution of the stipulations for the interior regulation of *Egypt*, arrived at *Rosetta* on the 29th, to which place General *Moore's* troops had quietly proceeded, with the late garrison of *Cairo*. They embarked there, and were immediately conveyed to *France*. Their numbers amounted to 13,754, exclusive of women and children. The behaviour of the *French* on board the ships was so very riotous, that Lord *Keith* was compelled to declare, that he would fire into the first ship in which he heard a tumult, which had the desired effect.

The health of General *Hutchinson* daily declining, he went on board Lord *Keith's* ship, where he proposed remaining till the army from *Cairo* joined General *Coote*, before *Alexandria*.

General

General Coote's army was in remarkable order, and in considerable strength. In the beginning of July reinforcements from *England* had arrived, consisting of the 28th dragoons, a detachment of Guards, the 24th, 25th, and 26th regiments, drafts from several foreign regiments, the *Ancient Irish Fencibles*, and the foreign regiments of *Watteville* and *Chasseurs Britannique*, amounting to 1800 men. The exertions of General Coote had been unremitting. But nothing important occurred at that place previous to the 20th of June, when, with a view of covering their eastern position, the *French* had made a cut on the canal of *Alexandria*, that the waters of the inundation might flow into the plain, to counteract the effects of which, Colonel *Duncan* was directed to construct a dam, parallel to the canal of *Alexandria*, which was accomplished without opposition.

The different brigades now marched into the camp, and General *Hutchinson* arrived on the 15th, and determined to besiege *Alexandria* on the eastern and western fronts, having an army of 16,000 men at his disposal, General Coote had the command of the division appointed to attack the left; while General *Moore* commanded the troops destined for the right, the instructions of the left were to storm the green Hill, on the right of the *French* line; and of the right of the Mole Hills, for the purpose of reconnoitring; very little opposition was made, and General *Moore* having completed his object, withdrew, and the *French* immediately re-occupied the hill. At seven o'clock, a body of 600 *French* unexpectedly made their appearance on the right, and rapidly directed their march

march against the post occupied by the 30th Regiment, who were laid scattered behind the ditches of the works; the assembly was now beat, and seven companies, in number 170 rank and file, were collected, who instantly charged with the bayonet the *French*, who had now nearly gained the summit, and completely routed them; 10 prisoners were made in the pursuit, and above 100 killed and wounded.— This gallant action was performed in the sight of the whole army—and redounds much to the honour of this little corps.

In the night of the 17th the first parallel was begun on the eastern front of the enemies position, and on the 18th General Coote having established two batteries, with mortars and three 24 pounders in them, against fort *Marabou*, directed the bombardment to commence, and on the 21st the fort surrendered. The army under General Coote now advanced, from fort *Marabou* against a position under the order of General *Eppler*. It was the intention of the General to have moved at day break, that the enemy might have been surprized and batteries carried with little loss, but the artillery horses were too fatigued, and it was six o'clock before the movement began. The advanced guard immediately fell in with the picquets, when a scattered fire of musquetry ensuing. The *French* now opened from all their guns a heavy fire, but the *British* continued to advance; finding that a serious attack was intended, and afraid of the bayonet—the *French* retired and abandoned their heavy guns. General Coote had now gained his first object, yet he directed his army to continue its march, which it did,

did, till within 1400 yards of *Alexandria* ; when as fort *Des Baines* was not to be assaulted without heavy artillery, he took up his position, though in the range of shot, that a support might be always ready. The *French* lost in this action 200 killed and wounded, with seven pieces of cannon, the loss of the *British* was 3 killed and 40 wounded. General *Hutchinson*, informed of the boldness of the position occupied by the army, ordered Colonel *Spencer*, with 1500 men, to join General *Coote*, but fearing that boats could not be got ready till evening, and expecting a sortie from the concentrated force of the garrison, he planned the following feint to divert their attention to self defence. Half an hour before day-light Generals *Craddock* and *Moore*, directed Parties of their troops to crawl as close as possible to the *French* position, and on an appointed signal, to commence a fire of musquetry, the intention of surprize succeeded, the *French* beat to arms, and kept up a furious discharge from their guns and small arms, until day-light shewed them that they were firing in the air—During this cannonade only one man was killed and one wounded ; but the whole power of the enemies defence was by this stratagem ascertained.— Captain *Chollet* of the *Hompesch Hussars* was detached with a corps of *Mamelukes* to scour the deserts and to cut off supplies which might be thrown into *Alexandria*, on the morning of the 23d two batteries were opened against the redoubt *Des Baines*, and on the 26th the batteries eastward on the Green Hill opened against the right of the *French* position ; and at the same time the *Turkish* gun boats attacked them in flank. In the Evening the first Aid-de-camp came with a letter

to demand an armistice for three days, that articles of capitulation might be drawn up; which was agreed to.

On the 29th *Minou's* Aid-de-camp returned in the evening, but instead of articles of capitulation he proposed a continuance of the armistice for thirty-six hours. General *Hutchinson* wrote back that he should direct hostilities to recommence at twelve o'clock at night, and orders to this effect were dispatched to General *Coote*, at nine however he returned with an assurance that proposals should be sent by two o'clock the next day. An Aid-de-camp and a chief de brigade the next day at one o'clock arrived at head quarters, bearing articles of capitulation, many of which were refused, yet the intention to surrender was un-equivocally confirmed.

At eleven o'clock at night the Aid-de-camp, returned with the articles as corrected by General *Hutchinson*, and on the morning of the second of September, Lord *Keith* came on shore and a capitulation was concluded, which embraced every desirable object. *Alexandria* was defended by 312 pieces of cannon, and 77 were found in the ships of war. In the powder Magazines were left 14,102 filled gun cartridges, and 195,218 pounds of powder in barrels. The return of the garrison yielded a total of 10,974 persons exclusive of women and children.

September 5th, Sir *Sydney Smith* and Colonel *Abercrombie* embarked on board the *Caroline*, with dispatches for England. Sir *Sydney Smith's* pretensions to this destination will be fully acknowledged, and Colonel *Abercrombie*, whose own services had been so mention-

ous, was justly selected as the herald of intelligence completing his father's fame.

The first division of the *French*, in high spirits, had embarked at *Aboukir*, on the 14th of September, and the others continued to embark as fast as vessels could be provided for them. General *Menou* applied for leave to fit out some small vessels which belonged to the *French*, and to have them manned by *French* sailors. This request was granted, stipulating that the vessels should be sent to *Minorca*. These vessels, however, were detained by the *French* government, and have never yet been returned. On the 18th September, General *Menou* embarked in the *Dido* frigate, and Lord *Cavan* delivered to the Captain *Pacha* the keys of *Alexandria*.

Thus ended the ever memorable expedition to *Egypt*, which has added such honours to the *English* character, as time never can efface, while it proves to the world the futility of the boasts of arrogant ambition, crowned with the possession of lawless power.

FINIS.

1. The first step in the process of the investigation is the identification of the problem. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The investigator must first identify the problem that is being studied. This is done by the investigator who is responsible for the study. The investigator must first identify the problem that is being studied.

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